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IBN HAJAR'S *HADY AL-SĀRĪ*: A MEDIEVAL INTERPRETATION OF
THE STRUCTURE OF AL-BUKHĀRĪ'S *AL-JĀMI' AL-ṢAḤĪḤ*:
INTRODUCTION AND TRANSLATION

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I. INTRODUCTION

IBN Hajar al-ʿAsqalānī (773–852/1372–1449)¹ was an Egyptian who lived in the late Mamlūk period. Although he wrote in many different fields, he earned his scholarly reputation for his works on Prophetic tradition. Perhaps his most famous work is his commentary upon *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, known as *Faṭḥ al-bārī bi-sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*. *Hady al-sārī* is his introduction to this commentary.²

Hady al-sārī is a lengthy work. Much of it consists of indexes: a glossary of rare words found in the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vocalizations of ambiguous proper names, full identification of the transmitters al-Bukhārī cited in his work, etc. The first four chapters, however, present his view of the generic features of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* as a text. In these chapters, Ibn Hajar is concerned with revealing the structure of the work and explaining the complexities which arise in this work as a result of its structure.

Chapter 1 is a history of the *ḥadīth* movement from the death of the Prophet to the time of al-Bukhārī and an evaluation of al-Bukhārī's position in that movement. Chapter 2 includes Ibn Hajar's explanation of the purpose(s) of *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ* and al-Bukhārī's criteria for citing texts therein. In this chapter, he also attempts to explain al-Bukhārī's method in writing chapter titles (see below). Chapter 3 is a discussion of techniques al-Bukhārī used in citing his material: *taqṭīʿ*³ (abbreviation), *ikhtīṣār* (summation), and *tikrār* (repetition). In this chapter, Ibn Hajar discusses the reasons which led al-Bukhārī to use these techniques and what the contexts are in which he uses them. The final chapter is Ibn Hajar's discussion of the "suspended," or the *muʿallaq*, reports found in *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*.

These chapters represent a type of *ḥadīth* criticism whose main purpose is not to determine the historicity of the transmitted material. Although Ibn Hajar uses the research of the earlier historical critics, his purpose in these chapters is to reveal the work's internal coherence and structure by attempting to understand the conventions of the book. In addition, Ibn Hajar does not claim to have reached his conclusions about the work as a result of statements attributed to the book's author. Rather, the author claims to base his conclusions upon his reading of the text.

¹ Abū al-Faḍl Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-ʿAsqalānī. For a more detailed biography, see the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2d ed.

² Ibn Hajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Hady al-sārī*, ed. Ibrāhīm ʿAṭwa ʿAwaḍ (Cairo, 1963).

³ Words that are transliterated in boldface are technical terms. I always transliterate the term when it is first used by the author. Thereafter I use the English translation unless I have been unable to find a one-word equivalent in English, in which case I will preserve the boldface transliteration throughout the translation.

Nevertheless, why should we be concerned with a work such as this? Perhaps the first reason to study this work is the position of its author, Ibn Ḥajar. While modern academic scholarship in both the Arab world and the Western world seems to ignore the intellectual life of the Mamlūk period,⁴ this era produced works which were of considerable importance for Muslim intellectuals up to the modern age.⁵ Ibn Ḥajar's commentary, *Faṭḥ al-bārī*, is one of those books. Later Muslim scholarly tradition was to know him simply as "al-ḥāfiẓ," the *ḥadīth* scholar, *par excellence*. Not only did his reading of al-Bukhārī come to occupy a privileged position within the tradition of Bukhārī criticism after his death, it was well on its way to canonization even during his lifetime. His biography reports that Muslim rulers from Morocco and Iran intervened with the Mamlūk sultān to obtain copies of the work as it was being written.⁶ Thus, if *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* is recognized as a critical part of the Muslim literary canon, then influential readings of this canonical work likewise deserve scholarly attention.

Another equally important reason is its place in intellectual history. While Ibn Ḥajar and his works can and should be the object of intellectual history, he himself is also a historian of ideas. For example, Ibn Ḥajar's observations on the nature of al-Bukhārī's text provide an interesting perspective on the differences between it and another important *ḥadīth* work from roughly the same period, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*. Ibn Ḥajar's representation of authors of *ḥadīth* works such as al-Bukhārī and Muslim shows them to be far from mere "collectors" of texts. Each of their works represents a different type of writing, with Muslim tending more to "pure" literary history and al-Bukhārī allowing interpretive concerns to dominate the structure of his work.

Ibn Ḥajar's interpretation of the different *ḥadīth* works can be profitably compared with that of Ignaz Goldziher, the founder of modern *ḥadīth* studies.⁷ One of the main conclusions of Goldziher's research into the literary origins of *ḥadīth*, on the one hand, and its relationship to the development of Islamic law, *fiqh*, on the other, was the existence of two parties in the first centuries of Islam, the *ahl al-ra'y*, "the partisans of opinion," and *ahl al-ḥadīth*, "the partisans of the *ḥadīth*." According to Goldziher, much of early Islamic intellectual history is a result of the battles waged between these two forces.⁸ This bitter conflict, in the opinion of Goldziher, led to forgery of *ḥadīth* material *en masse*. Goldziher's scholarly successors, moreover, have allowed the questions of literary history raised by him to dominate subsequent *ḥadīth* scholarship. Unfortunately, this has obscured other important questions regarding the early *ḥadīth* movement.⁹

Consequently, the early traditionists have come to be viewed by modern scholars as more or less passive collectors. The differences in their works are subsequently reduced to

⁴ The typical stance toward this period by modern historians of thought is to dismiss it as a period of mere compilation and commentary. See, for example, Ignaz Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, 2 vols., trans. C. R. Barber and S. M. Stern (London, 1971), vol. 2, p. 245.

⁵ The situation in the Arab world is slightly more complex, given the presence of "traditional" intellectuals who share a certain continuity with the tradition of learning which Ibn Ḥajar so ably represented. Thus, when I use the term "modern scholarship," I mean those scholars who are associated with the new institution of learning, the national university.

⁶ *Faṭḥ al-bārī* was composed as a series of lectures which were delivered over the course of twenty-five years, 817–42/1414–38.

⁷ Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, vol. 2, chap. 8, "The *Ḥadīth* Literature," pp. 189–251.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 77–85.

⁹ For a summary of modern accounts of the beginnings of Islamic law and the *ḥadīth* literature, see Harald Motzki, *Die Anfänge der islamischen Jurisprudenz*, *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. 50, no. 2 (Stuttgart, 1991), chap. 1, "Die Anfänge der islamischen Jurisprudenz in der Forschung des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts," pp. 7–49.

each author's critical (from the perspective of literary history) acumen. This characterization, however, only obscures the problem of authorship in these different works. Moreover, this position also obscures the manner in which the six books became canonized.¹⁰ Instead, the canonization of these six books is understood *implicitly* as marking a type of canonization akin to the canonization of the gospels, in which, by analogy, other *ḥadīth* works come to be considered less true.

It is doubtful, however, whether this analogy is helpful, for one does not find Muslim *ḥadīth* critics assigning "truth" values to texts based solely on considerations of their textual sources. This can be seen clearly in instances where a text exists in different sources with different versions. When two versions of a single text exist, one in al-Bukhārī, and one in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Ibn Khuzayma, for example, one cannot say solely on the basis of the text's inclusion in al-Bukhārī that it is the authoritative version of the text. Indeed, it is doubtful that *ḥadīth* critics even thought in terms of an "authoritative" version of a text.¹¹

Goldziher's research, however, was not confined to questions of the authenticity of the *ḥadīth* literature. In chapter 8 of his *Muslim Studies*, he reveals his knowledge of the structural complexities and the differences in the various *ḥadīth* collections. For example, he discusses the important differences between al-Bukhārī's collection and that of his younger contemporary, Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj. His vision of early Islamic intellectual history as a battle between *ahl al-raʿy* and *ahl al-ḥadīth*, however, results in a somewhat equivocal position toward the work of al-Bukhārī. Although Goldziher claims him as a clear representative of *ahl al-ḥadīth*, Goldziher's subsequent discussion of the book's structure casts into doubt the accuracy of his initial characterization.

The theoretically problematic nature of *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ* is most clearly revealed when Goldziher contrasts it with Mālik's *Muwattaʿ*. Commenting on the presence of *fatwās* (legal opinions) in the latter, Goldziher says: "A transmitter of the *ḥadīth* school would have put forward not *fatwās*, but *ḥadīths* going back to the Prophet."¹² More importantly, however, he also notes that "Mālik b. Anas is not a mere collector of traditions but is first and foremost an interpreter of them from the point of view of praxis" (emphasis added).¹³

On the other hand, Goldziher describes the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī as a *muṣannaf*, a type of *ḥadīth* work which was organized by legal topic instead of by narrator, as had been the previous practice in the *musnad* collections. According to Goldziher, this genre of *ḥadīth* collection was introduced in the third century to prove the relevance of the *ḥadīth* to law. He says that the "structure of this book (*al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*) is that of a pure work of traditions (without addition of *raʿy* as in Mālik)."¹⁴ Goldziher explains al-Bukhārī's chapter titles as his attempt to propagate the doctrine of the *ahl al-ḥadīth* by alerting readers to the point of the quoted texts.¹⁵

Immediately after making this statement, however, Goldziher begins to qualify it. On page 218, for example, he says, "By this example, I wished to show in how unmistakable

¹⁰ They are: *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī (d. 256/869), the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim (d. 261/875), the *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī (d. 275/889), the *Sunan* of al-Tirmidhī (d. 279/892), the *Sunan* of al-Nasāʾī (d. 303/915), and the *Sunan* of Ibn Māja (d. 273/886). In this respect, it is important to remember that there were several other works, both in the *ṣaḥīḥ* and the *sunan* modes, written after the deaths of these six authors. Why were they not included in the canon?

¹¹ For an explanation of this lack of canonization of the *sunna*, see Bernard Weiss, *The Search for God's Law* (Salt Lake City, 1992), pp. 259–60.

¹² Goldziher, "Ḥadīth Literature," p. 198.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 199.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

a way al-Bukhārī tried to win over readers to a certain *partisan opinion* in the headings and introduction of the chapters in his collection" (emphasis added). On page 220, Goldziher remarks that "he (al-Bukhārī) always thinks first of the theoretical applications for which his material should, or should not, be used."

Although the representation of al-Bukhārī began by emphasizing the differences between him and Mālik, differences which represented the conflict between the *ahl al-raʿy* and the *ahl al-ḥadīth*, Goldziher concludes his description of al-Bukhārī's work in a manner almost identical to the comments cited earlier in his description of the *Muwattaʿa*.¹⁶ This equivocation is only heightened when Goldziher contrasts Muslim with al-Bukhārī. The *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, we are told, is similar in design and purpose to al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. In almost the next breath, however, he tells us that Muslim is not overly concerned with the practical application of the material which he cited!¹⁶

This, then, is another reason to study Ibn Ḥajar's *Hady al-sārī*. In the first four chapters of this work, especially in chapters 2–4, Ibn Ḥajar devotes detailed attention to the generic features of *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*. In the course of his exposition, he provides many answers to the questions Goldziher raised but only partially succeeded in answering.

Ibn Ḥajar, in writing his commentary on al-Bukhārī, was able to take advantage of the scholarship of previous centuries. According to the consensus of learned opinion, al-Bukhārī's purpose in writing his book, while it included the goal of separating valid *ḥadīths* from those which were less reliable, was not limited to this. His purpose was also to cite these texts in a manner that would reveal their legal ramifications. Thus, Ibn Ḥajar quotes al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277) as saying: "The purpose of al-Bukhārī is not limited to *ḥadīths*. Rather, his goal is to derive from them certain meanings and to use them as evidence for certain topics."¹⁷ Al-Nawawī further explains that this is why one finds such great differences in the cited material within the different chapters of the book, some having many *ḥadīths*, others having only one and still others having none.

The great differences in the material cited in various chapters even led some critics to conclude that al-Bukhārī had not completed the book. Furthermore, in instances where the material cited did not seem appropriate for al-Bukhārī's chapter title, this same group of critics maintained that one had to conclude that these texts had been inserted incorrectly by copyists.¹⁸

Ibn Ḥajar recognizes this as a possible explanation for some of the problematic sections of the book. He cautions, however, that this explanation is valid "only in a few places, as shall be made clear, by the will of God" [p. 19]. Instead of explaining the inconsistencies in al-Bukhārī's material as a result of scribal incompetence, Ibn Ḥajar introduces a critical distinction in the types of texts which al-Bukhārī cited in his work:

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 226–29. Furthermore, according to Ibn Ḥajar, Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* contained *fatwās* of both Companions and Followers, and interrupted reports, just like the *Muwattaʿa* of Mālik. Significantly, Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* is almost entirely composed of formally valid *ḥadīths*.

¹⁷ *Hady al-sārī*, p. 19. Subsequent page references to the Arabic text of this work will appear throughout this paper in brackets.

¹⁸ For example, Abū al-Walid al-Bāji (d. 474/1081) reported that one of the copyists of *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, al-Mustamlī, said: "I copied the book of

al-Bukhārī from the original which was in the possession of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Farabrī (d. 320/932). I saw that parts of it had been completed, while others had been left unfinished. Among them were titles in which he had yet to place anything, and among them were *ḥadīths* which he had yet to group into chapters with titles. Therefore, we put the two together."

I have inserted death dates throughout the text of the translation using parentheses instead of the customary brackets.

primary and secondary. The former, which he refers to as the *aṣl*, are cited using the expression *ḥaddathanā*, some equivalent expression, or valid ^can^cana. Texts cited in this manner are formally valid according to al-Bukhārī's stipulations. Their relationship to the chapter title under which they are cited can be ambiguous, however.

On the other hand, al-Bukhārī wished to include texts which did not meet his formal stipulations for validity, although he deemed them valid for argumentation. In these cases, he cited these texts in a suspended form or would even use the wording of a formally weak text in the title of the chapter if its meaning supported al-Bukhārī's argument. Ibn Hajar refers to these formally deficient texts, as *taba^c*, secondary [p. 20]. According to Ibn Hajar, al-Bukhārī intended these texts to serve as a type of commentary on the primary texts in the case of ambiguity in the primary texts:

In this context (ambiguity in the *aṣl*) the title serves to interpret the *ḥadīth*, taking the place of the jurist's statement, for example, "The meaning of this general *ḥadīth* is particular," or "the meaning of this specific *ḥadīth* is general." Thus, the title creates the impression of analogy because of the existence of the unifying *ratio legis*. . . . That which we have mentioned about the general and the particular is also true for the unqualified and the qualified term. The same is also the case for the explanation of the problematic, clarification of the ambiguous, interpretation of the apparent, and detailing the succinct. This is where most of the problematic instances of titles of this book lie. This is the reason behind the famous saying of the nobles, "Al-Bukhārī's jurisprudence (*fiqh*) is in his titles."

Al-Bukhārī usually resorts to this when he cannot find a *ḥadīth* which meets his criteria of validity and whose apparent meaning is [the same as] what he intends to establish in the chapter [p. 25].

The relationship of formally deficient material to the formally valid material was not the only source of structural complexity, however, according to Ibn Hajar. Another important source of confusion was al-Bukhārī's abbreviation and repetition of *ḥadīth* texts. He would abbreviate a *ḥadīth* when it contained several ideas which could be used as evidence for different topics. Because he did not wish to repeat the text unless it provided additional information, he would cite it completely only once. In all subsequent instances, he would cite only that part of the text which was relevant to the new chapter.

On the other hand, he would often repeat the same text, *matn*, in its entirety if he could cite it with a different *isnād* or if there were differences in the text's wording. Another reason leading to the repetition of *ḥadīth* texts is that al-Bukhārī wished to establish that a meeting had taken place between two transmitters who had appeared in an earlier text cited with ^can^cana [p. 26].¹⁹

From this discussion, we see that al-Bukhārī was greatly concerned with the economy of his presentation. The cost of this, however, was that technical *ḥadīth* information regarding different *isnāds* and transmitters is scattered throughout the book. In this regard, this technical *ḥadīth* information is made *secondary* to considerations of the text's legal implications.

This puts us in a better position to understand the position of al-Bukhārī's *al-Jāmi^c al-ṣaḥīḥ* in relation to the *Muwatta^a*, on the one hand, and to *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* on the other. Ibn Hajar reports that some *ḥadīth* critics objected to the unqualified description of *al-Jāmi^c al-ṣaḥīḥ* as superior to the book of Mālik, "because they both share the criteria of validity

¹⁹ Al-Bukhārī would not accept transmissions of the ^can^cana variety until he had established that the two

transmitters had met and were not just contemporaries.

and an exaggerated critical sense. Furthermore, the fact that there are more *ḥadīths* in al-Bukhārī does not require that it has the virtue of being more valid" [p. 21].

Ibn Ḥajar replies noting that the two authors' respective concepts of validity is substantively different:

The answer to that [objection] lies in the two authors' respective understanding of validity. Mālik does not consider interruption in the *isnād* to be a defect in the *ḥadīth*. For this reason he cites *mursals*, *munqatiʿs*, and communications (*balāghāt*) as part of the main object of the book, whereas al-Bukhārī considers interruption a defect in the *isnād*. Thus, he does not cite these *ḥadīths* except as something *outside the main object of his book*, e.g., *taʿliqs* and titles of chapters (emphasis added) [p. 21].

Ibn Ḥajar seems to imply that the only difference in the two works is a formal one: al-Bukhārī is much more rigorous than Mālik in separating primary texts from secondary texts. It seems important to add, however, that Mālik was not concerned with providing technical information about *isnāds* and transmitters in the manner of al-Bukhārī. It seems that what gives the latter's book its complexity is its desire to provide legal information at the same time that it is providing information of interest to *ḥadīth* scholars. The book's organization is a result of the tension between these two goals.

That this is so is confirmed by Ibn Ḥajar's discussion of the scholarly community's reception of the books of al-Bukhārī and Muslim. While the overwhelming majority of scholars, according to Ibn Ḥajar, agree that al-Bukhārī's material is more valid than that of Muslim, some preferred Muslim. Ibn Ḥajar mentions two of those critics who preferred Muslim, Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Naysābūrī (d. 349/960) and "one of the Maghribī scholars," whom Ibn Ḥajar later identifies, significantly, as Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064).

Later scholars attributed to Abū ʿAlī the statement, "there is not a book under Heaven more valid than the book of Muslim." Ibn Ḥajar says that Abū ʿAlī does not mean to say that Muslim's criteria of validity are more exacting than al-Bukhārī's nor that his transmitters were more competent than al-Bukhārī's; rather, Abū ʿAlī was referring to the different ways in which the two books were organized, a difference that made Muslim's book more useful for the traditionist:

[H]e (Abū ʿAlī) seems to have given Muslim precedence over al-Bukhārī for a reason other than that which we have been discussing, i.e., the relevant criteria of the transmitters necessary for establishing a valid transmission. Rather, he gave precedence to Muslim because Muslim composed his book in his town with his texts in front of him during the lifetime of many of his teachers. Thus, he was able to be very careful in preserving the wording of his *ḥadīths* and was able to inspect them closely during composition. *Furthermore, because he did not attempt to do that which al-Bukhārī did, i.e., derive legal rulings around which chapters could be organized, something which necessitated taqṭīʿ of his ḥadīths according to their topics, Muslim was able to gather all the paths of the ḥadīth in one place, and could limit himself to ḥadīths and omit mawqūfs* (emphasis added) [p. 23].

This point is strengthened by Ibn Ḥajar's identification of the "Maghribī *shaykh*" as Ibn Ḥazm. As is well known, Ibn Ḥazm was a Zāhirite who rejected analogy. If we accept what Ibn Ḥajar says about al-Bukhārī's chapter titles, Ibn Ḥazm's preference of Muslim makes sense: the *ḥadīths* which al-Bukhārī had cited in his book, even those that Ibn Ḥajar refers to as primary texts, despite the high critical standards of al-Bukhārī, were too enmeshed in al-Bukhārī's interpretations to be of much use for a Zāhirite such as Ibn

Ḥazm. For someone who was interested in radical legal change, on the other hand, Muslim's book allowed greater interpretive freedom, since it was not in the service (or to a significantly lesser extent) of any legal system.²⁰

Ibn Ḥajar makes a very strong case in *Hady al-sārī* for the uniqueness of *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*. At the same time, his analysis suggests that the text of al-Bukhārī is operating on many different levels. The function of his introduction, then, is to alert the reader to the many sides of this work so that he can get the most out of the text.

This brings us back to our time and our concerns. If Ibn Ḥajar's account of the structure of al-Bukhārī's work can be accepted as plausible, it requires that we begin to take seriously the notion that the *form* of a report can dramatically affect the *content* of the report. In other words, before we can understand the significance of a text's citation in a work such as *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, we must understand the function of that citation within the context of the work.

Hady al-sārī provides some clues to solving the problematic relationship of form and content in al-Bukhārī's work. While Ibn Ḥajar reached many conclusions regarding the conventions of *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, modern scholars should test these conclusions against the evidence provided by the work itself. This method will eventually result in a greater understanding of the generic structure of *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*. By doing this, we should be able to gain a deeper understanding of early Islamic intellectual history and of the role played by the *ḥadīth* movement within it.²¹

II. *HADY AL-SĀRĪ*

THE INTRODUCTION

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate [p. 15].

The *shaykh*, the Imām, the scholar, the pious doctor, the proof of Islām, the destination of knowledge seekers, the pillar of traditionists, the ornament of gatherings, the unique one of his age, alone in his epoch, revivifier of the noble *sunna*, suppressor of innovators and the misguided, the bright comet, Abū al-Faḍl Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-ʿAsqalānī, known as Ibn Ḥajar, may God reward him with Paradise, by His favor and generosity, said:

Praise belongs to God who has eased the people of Islām's breasts to the *sunna*. Thus, they were led by it and in its study found comfort. He destroyed the ones iniquitous in their innovations after they had become excessive in disputing it and their innovations had exceeded all bounds. I witness that there is no god except God, alone, with no partner, the knower of the heart's submission and of its refusal [to submit], the One aware of its hidden secrets, be they united or separate.

I also bear witness that Muḥammad is His servant and His messenger, the one, by whose right falsehood became low after it had been high. Through his mission, the lights

²⁰ Ibn Ḥajar also points out that many Maghribi jurists who had written on *ḥadīths* having legal implications use Muslim and not al-Bukhārī due to the texts' "existence in Muslim in their entirety whereas al-Bukhārī had abbreviated them" [p. 24].

²¹ Iftikhar Zaman pointed out examples of the

results of this method when applied to *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ* in his lecture entitled "Early Islamic Intellectual History: Orientalist Hadith Scholarship and the Significance of Deobandi Hadith Criticism," presented at the annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association (MESA), 1991, Washington, D.C.

of guidance reappeared and their proof became manifest, after they had been extinguished. May God bless him and grant him peace as long as the Heavens and the Earth endure, the former in its loftiness, and the latter in its vastness; and, may He bless his family and Companions, those who crushed the armies of the apostates, and who conquered their fortresses. They abandoned their homes and desire for the love of the one calling them to God, never to return to them after bidding them farewell. They were zealous in following his words, deeds, and manners, thereby preserving the noble *sunan* (norms) from disappearance.

To begin (*ammā baʿd*): the study of the religious sciences, which are received from the best of mankind, is the noblest thing which has been singled out for special attention, and the most appropriate thing in which precious days should be spent. No rational man would doubt that the axis of these sciences is the Book of God [which is] followed and the *sunna* of His select Prophet. The remaining sciences are either tools to understand them, and they are the lost things which are sought, or they are unrelated to them, and they are the harm to be overcome.

I have seen that the Imām Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Bukhārī in his *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥiḥ*, was enlightened from their bright light, in establishing and in deriving [knowledge], and that he drank from their thirst-quenching wells eagerly. Because of his good intention, he was blessed with good fortune in that which he compiled: both friend and foe submitted to it, and both consenting and contestant accepted his conclusions about the validity [of *ḥadīths*] willingly.

I asked God's guidance about [my desire] to add to it explanatory notes about its benefits which would make clear its purposes and reveal its meanings by explaining its subtle and difficult points.²² And, I also asked that I should precede this with an introduction which explains its structure and draws attention to its unique features. The introduction will be comprehensive but brief and easily grasped. It will open the book's closed doors, make its difficult paths easy, and ease the breasts.

The introduction will be limited to ten chapters, God willing:

1. An explanation of the reason which led the author to compose this book.
2. An explanation of the book's subject, revealing his purpose in [writing] the book. There will also be an investigation of the author's criteria for including *ḥadīths*, and it will be established that it is among [p. 16] the most valid compilations of Prophetic *ḥadīths*. Appended to this will be a discussion of his marvelous and unique chapter titles in whose precision he was unique among his peers. Through his careful attention to them, he became more famous than his colleagues.
3. An explanation of his purpose in summarizing *ḥadīths* and practicing *taqīʿ*, as well as the benefit derived from the repetition of certain *ḥadīths*.
4. An explanation of his reason for including *taʿliqs* and *āthār mawqūfa*, despite the fact that this is contrary to the main object of the book.²³ I (Ibn Ḥajar) appended to this section a summary list of those *taʿliqs* which are attributed to the Prophet and pointed out which narrators attributed them to the Prophet.
5. A brief explanation of the rare words present in the book's texts, arranged in the order of the letters of the dictionary, so that its use would be convenient and easy.

²² "By explaining . . ." is a paraphrase for the Arabic expression "taqyid awābidihi wa iqtināṣ shawāridihi," which literally means "by chaining its wild beasts and

hunting down its runaways."

²³ My translation ends at the point where this appendix begins.

6. Indication of the correct spelling and vocalization²⁴ (*ḍabṭ*) of its problematic names, agnomen (*kunā*), and genealogies. This is divided into two categories. The first includes **al-muṭṭalifa** and **al-mukhtalifa** which can be organized around a rule facilitating its review and its repeated usage; those names which do not fall under this category will be mentioned in the text. The second includes the problematic names which appear [in the text] only once (*al-mufradāt*).

7. Identifying his teachers whose descent Bukhārī neglected to mention if the names are common, like Muḥammad, but not for rare names like Musaddad. There will also be a brief discussion of all the unknown and ambiguous names which are in the book.

8. Discussion of the book's *ḥadīths* which Abū al-Hasan al-Dāraqutnī (d. 385/995) and other *ḥadīth* critics criticized and the answer to their objections one *ḥadīth* at a time. This will clarify that there is nothing in the book which contradicts his criteria of inclusion as we have established them.

9. A review of all his narrators who have been subjects of criticism, arranged according to the dictionary, and a reply to the charges, fairly and impartially, as well as excusing the author for having included some against whom there are strong objections. This was either because the author rejected the charges leveled against the narrator, or because the author narrated a *ḥadīth* of the suspect transmitter which was in agreement with the *ḥadīth* of a more reliable transmitter, or for another reason.

10. An index of his book, chapter by chapter, and an enumeration of the *ḥadīths* in each chapter. The number enumerated here will include the repeated *ḥadīths*. I arranged it following the method of the Shaykh al-Islām, Abū Zakariyyā al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277), may God be pleased with him, in order to gain blessings through him. Then, I added to it an explanation of the appropriateness [of the book's order], which I acquired from Shaykh al-Islām Abū Hafs al-Bulqaynī (d. 805/1403), may God be pleased with him. Then, I followed it with the names of the Companions which appear in the book, arranged in alphabetical order, and an enumeration of how many *ḥadīths* each one has in the book. Here, the precise number of the book's *ḥadīths* without repetition will be found.

I concluded the introduction with a biography revealing his unique attributes and virtues, inclusive of his accomplishments and deeds, so that mention of him adorns the book's conclusion.²⁵

When these chapters are completed and these principles established, I shall begin to explain the book, seeking the aid of *al-Fattāḥ* and *al-Waḥḥāb*.²⁶ First, I shall narrate the chapter and its *ḥadīth*, God willing, and, if the relationship between the two is hidden, I shall explain it. Second, I shall reveal the information, both regarding the *isnād* and the text, which can be validly gained from the *ḥadīth*. This includes supplements, additions, clarification of the unclear, pointing out a **mudallis**' declaration that he received the text directly and a succeeding transmission from one who heard [the text] from a senile teacher. I will acquire this [information] from the oldest **masānid** (sing. **musnad**), **jawāmiʿ** (sing. **jāmiʿ**), and **mustakhrajāt** (sing. **mustakhraj**), as well as the **ajzāʾ** (sing. **juzʾ**)

²⁴ Hereafter, I will translate *ḍabṭ* as "vocalization."

²⁵ "Adorns . . ." is a paraphrase for the Arabic "wā-ṣiṭata ʿiqdi niẓāmiḥā wa surrata miski khitāmiḥā."

²⁶ *Al-Fattāḥ* and *al-Waḥḥāb* are two of the divine names of God in Muslim tradition, the former meaning "the one who disposes of affairs decisively and fairly,"

while the latter means "the one who gives (often)." For the meaning of *al-Fattāḥ*, see al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshāf*, 4 vols. (Beirut, n.d.), vol. 3, p. 259, and al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-bayān fi taʾwīl āy al-qurʾān*, 12 vols. (Cairo, 1987), pt. 22, p. 65 (Qurʾān 34:26).

and the *fawā'id* (sing. *fā'id*), on the condition that all I cite must meet either the conditions of validity or goodness (*ḥasan*).

Third, [p. 17] I shall join (*asilu*) his interrupted **mu^ʿallaq** and **mawqūf** reports [cited in the book]. In discussion of this matter, the extra benefits are united and the scattered pearls are arranged.

Fourth, I will vocalize [using words] the problematic aspects of all the matters mentioned previously, be they [proper] names or epithets, along with an explanation of the meanings of words, pointing out subtle points of rhetoric and things similar to this.

Fifth, I shall cite those legal opinions of the Imāms which are derived from the report, as well as the legal judgments, ascetic admonitions, and normative customs [likewise derived from the report]. In this regard I will limit myself to the preponderant opinions, stick to the clear, and stay away from the difficult [opinions]. However, I shall be concerned with harmonizing those reports which appear to be in conflict, by explicitly differentiating the abrogating text (*al-nāsikh*) from the abrogated text (*al-mansūkh*), the general term (*al-ʿāmm*) from the specific (*al-khāṣṣ*), and the unqualified term (*al-muṭlaq*) from the qualified (*al-muqayyad*). I will also identify the ambiguous text (*al-mujmal*) and its clarifier (*al-mubayyin*), and the apparent (*al-zāhir*), and its interpreter (*al-mu^ʿawwil*).

In addition to this, I shall also mention rules of juristic method, bits of linguistic information, and some selected differences among the legal schools, according to that which I know of the Imāms' opinions, and that which my comprehension was able to grasp. I shall follow this plan, God willing, in every chapter. If the same text should be repeated in another, different chapter, I will also mention the reason which led him to repeat it, while omitting the rest of the information. If its wording or meaning has changed, however, I will point out the specific difference resulting from that change. If it is then repeated a third time in another chapter, I will limit myself to discussing its relevance [to that chapter], explaining that which had been omitted in previous discussions, and pointing out the previous places in the work where the text had been discussed at length. But, if the first citation is distant from the third citation, I will change the order by limiting the first discussion to its relationship, and in the second citation I will discuss the various points mentioned previously, being careful to be brief and to avoid excessive comments.

It is God that I ask to favor me with His aid in completing it, by His generosity and favor, and that He guide me to that of the truth in which there has been difference [of opinion], by His permission, and that He be generous to me because of my study of the reports of His Prophet by rewarding me in the next abode, and that He pour forth unto me and those who review it, and those who read it, and those who copy it, plentiful bounties, one after the other. Indeed, He is the hearer, the One who answers.

CHAPTER 1

An Explanation of the Reason Which Led Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Bukhārī to Compose His al-Jāmi^c al-ṣaḥīḥ and an Explanation of His Good Intention in Doing This

Know, may God teach you and me, that the reports of the Prophet (S),²⁷ in the age of his Companions and the oldest Followers, had neither been recorded in comprehensive

²⁷ (S) represents the standard Muslim invocation "Him and grant Him peace." placed after the Prophet's name: "May God bless

collections nor organized topically for two reasons. The first is that initially they were forbidden to do this, as has been established in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, for fear that some of it would be confused with the Great Qurʾān. The second is that their memories were vast and their intellects quick. Moreover, the majority of them were not able to write.

Then, at the end of the age of the Followers, it happened that the reports were compiled and arranged topically. This was a result of the scholars' having scattered throughout the cities and the increase of the innovations of the Khawārij, the Rawāfiḍ, and the rejecters of destiny.

The first ones to do this were al-Rabī^c b. Ṣabīḥ (d. 160/777), Saʿīd b. Abī ʿArūba (d. 156/773), among others. They would compile individual works on each topic. This practice continued until the beginning of the third generation, when they began to make compilations of legal rules. Thus, Imām Mālik (d. 179/795) arranged the *Muwattaʿ*, in which he sought out the strongest *ḥadīths* of the Hijāzīs. Also, he added to it the statements of the Companions and the legal opinions of the Followers, and those who came after them.

In Makka, there was Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Jurayj (d. 150/767), in Syria Abū ʿAmr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAmr al-Awzāʿī (d. 157/774), in Kūfa Abū ʿAbd Allāh Sufyān b. Saʿīd al-Thawrī (161/778), and in Baṣra Abū Salama [p. 18] Hammād b. Salama b. Dīnār (d. 167/784). Then, many people from their time followed them in this practice, until one of the Imāms thought to make a separate work limited to the *ḥadīths* of the Prophet (S) This occurred at the very beginning of the third century. Thus, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Mūsā al-ʿAbsī al-Kūfī (d. 179/795) arranged a **musnad**, as did Musaddad b. Musarhad al-Baṣrī (d. 228/843), Asad b. Mūsā al-Umawī (d. 212/843), and Nuʿaym b. Hammād al-Khuzāʿī (d. 228/843), who settled in Egypt. Then after that, the Imāms followed their path, until it was rare to find an Imām among the **ḥuffāz** (sing. **ḥāfiẓ**) who did not organize his *ḥadīths* as a **musnad**, such as the Imām Ahmad b. Hanbal (d. 241/855), Ishāq b. Rāhawayhi (d. 238/853), ʿUthmān b. Abī Shayba (d. 239/853), and other noble individuals. Some of them organized their material according to both topic and **musnad**, such as Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba (d. 235/849).

When al-Bukhārī, may God be pleased with him, saw these collections and narrated them, and inhaled their scent and saw their face, he found them to be, in respect to their contents, inclusive of what would be considered valid and good, although many of them also included that which would be considered weak: the lean cannot be described as fleshy.

This aroused in him the desire to gather the valid *ḥadīths* in whose validity no faithful person could hold a doubt into one book. Moreover, what he had heard from his teacher, the Commander of the Faithful in both *ḥadīth* and law, Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥanzalī, known as Ibn Rāhawayhi, increased his determination. This is according to what Abū al-ʿAbbās Ahmad b. ʿUmar al-Luʿluʾī told us on the authority of al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Mizzī. Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb informed us. Abū al-Yumn al-Kindī (d. 613/1216) informed us. Abū Maṣṣūr al-Qazzāz informed us. Al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū Bakr al-Khaṭīb (d. 463/1072) informed us. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaʿqūb informed me. Muḥammad b. Nuʿaym informed us. I heard Khalaf b. Muḥammad al-Bukhārī (d. 361/971) in Bukhārā say: "I heard Ibrāhīm b. Maʿqil al-Nasafī (d. 295/908) say: ʿAbū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī said:

We were with Ishāq b. Rāhawayhi and he said, "If (only) you (pl.) would gather a brief book of the valid **sunna** of the Messenger (S) of God?" That [statement] fell into my heart, so I began to gather *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*.

We were told, by means of the established *isnād*, on the authority of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Fāris (d. 312/924), that he said, "I heard al-Bukhārī say:

I dreamt that I saw the Prophet (S) and it was as though I was standing directly in front of him. In my hand was a fan, which I used to protect him. So I asked one of those who interpret dreams [about it], so he said to me: "You protect him from lies," and that was what led me to produce *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥiḥ*.

Al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū Dharr al-Harawī (d. 434, 435/1042, 1043) said: I heard Abū al-Haytham Muḥammad b. Makkī al-Kushmihani (d. 389/998) say: I heard Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Farabrī (d. 320/932) say: Bukhārī said: I never included a *ḥadīth* in the *Ṣaḥiḥ* without first bathing and praying two *rak'as*.

Abū 'Alī al-Ghassānī said: it was reported from him that he said, "I composed *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥiḥ* from 600,000 *ḥadīths*."

Al-Ismā'īlī (d. 290/908) narrated from him that he said, "I included only the valid in this book, but the valid *ḥadīths* which I excluded are greater." Al-Ismā'īlī said:

That is because if he had included every valid *ḥadīth* in his possession, he would have included the *ḥadīths* of a [large] group of Companions in every chapter. Subsequently, he would have mentioned the paths of every one of them, since they were valid. Thus the book would have been very long indeed.

Aḥmad b. 'Adī said: I heard al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bazzāz say: I heard Ibrāhīm b. Ma'qil al-Nasafi say [Bukhārī said]: "I included only the valid in my book, *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥiḥ*, and I left out many valid *ḥadīths* so it would not be long."²⁸

Al-Farabrī also said: I heard Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥātim al-Bukhārī al-Warrāq say, "I saw Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī in a dream walking behind the Prophet (S) who was also walking. Whenever the Prophet (S) picked up his foot, al-Bukhārī would place his foot in that place."

Al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū Aḥmad b. 'Adī said: I heard al-Farabrī say: I heard Najm b. Fuḍayl, and he was possessed of understanding, say that he had a similar dream.

[p. 19] Abū Ja'far Muḥammad²⁹ b. 'Amr al-'Uqaylī (d. 322/934) said:

When al-Bukhārī composed the *Ṣaḥiḥ*, he read it to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, Yahyā b. Ma'in, 'Alī b. al-Madīnī, and others. They found it good and testified to its validity except [in the case of] four *ḥadīths*.

Al-'Uqaylī said: the opinion in this matter is al-Bukhārī's, and the four [in question] are valid.

CHAPTER 2

Explanation of its Object³⁰ and Revealing His Purpose in It

It has been established that in arranging the book, he committed himself to criteria of validity, and that he includes therein only valid *ḥadīths*. That is the basis of its object.

²⁸ This is as it appears in the printed edition. Perhaps it should read after Ibrāhīm b. Ma'qil al-Nasafi, "I heard Abū 'Abd Allāh say, . . . the quote."

²⁹ The text reads Maḥmūd, which is a mistake.

³⁰ The text reads *mawḍi'*, which means "place." This instead should be read as *mawḍū'*.

That this is his primary purpose is known from his name for the book, *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥiḥ al-musnad min ḥadīth rasūl allāh, ṣallā allāhu 'alayhi wa sallama, wa sunanihi wa ayyāmihi* (The valid, documented *ḥadīths* of the Messenger of God (S), his rules, and his battles). This is also known explicitly from those reports which we have transmitted from him through the Imāms [about the book].

Subsequently, he decided to include within it legal benefits and observations.³¹ Thus, by using his understanding, he derived from the texts many meanings and scattered them throughout the chapters of his book according to criteria of appropriateness (*munāsaba*). Furthermore, he also concerned himself with the legal verses of the Qur'ān and derived from them unprecedented meanings. And he used various methods to refer to their meanings.

The *shaykh* Muḥyī al-Dīn [al-Nawawī], may God make him beneficial, said: the purpose of al-Bukhārī is not only limited to *ḥadīths*. Rather, his goal is to derive from them [certain meanings] and to use them as evidence in certain topics. It is for this reason that he omitted from many chapters the *isnād* of the *ḥadīth* and instead was content to say, "So-and-so from the Prophet (S)," or the equivalent. Sometimes he mentions the text without the *isnād*, and other times he might use it as a *mu'allaq*.

He did this because he intended to use it to argue the point which he is explaining. He makes reference to the *ḥadīth* on account of its being known. Often it had been previously mentioned in its entirety, many times only recently. Often many of his book's chapters have several *ḥadīths*, while other chapters have no *ḥadīths*. Some do not contain a verse from the Book of God, and some contain nothing at all.

Some have claimed that he did this intentionally and that his goal was to show that there were no valid *ḥadīths*, according to his requirements, which supported the idea that he was explaining. It was this that led some of those who copied his book to combine chapters which contained no *ḥadīths* with *ḥadīths* which had not been included in any chapter. Thus, comprehending it (the author's purpose) became difficult for the one studying it. But the Imām Abū al-Walīd al-Bājī al-Mālikī (d. 474/1081) explained the cause of that [ambiguity] in the introduction to his book *Fī asmā' rijāl al-Bukhārī* [On the names of Bukhārī's transmitters]. He said: Al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū Dharr 'Abd al-Rahīm b. Aḥmad al-Harawī informed me. He said: Al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Mustamlī (d. 376/986) told us. He said:

I copied the book of al-Bukhārī from the original which was in the possession of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Farabrī. I saw that parts of it had been completed, while others had been left unfinished. Among them were titles in which he had yet to place anything, and among them were *ḥadīths* which he had yet to group into chapters with titles. Therefore, we put the two together.

Abū al-Walīd al-Bājī said: the validity of this statement is strengthened because Abū Ishāq al-Mustamlī's transmission, Abū Muḥammad al-Sarakhsī's transmission, Abū al-Haytham al-Kushmihani's transmission, and Abū Zayd al-Marwazī's transmission differ in the order of their arrangement, although all of them copied it from the same manuscript. This resulted from what each one took to be the proper position in the work of the glosses or the separate notes added to it. This is also strengthened by the fact that you find two or more titles, sequentially, without any intervening *ḥadīths*. Al-Bājī said:

³¹ This could be read as *hukmiyya* (legal), as I have done, or perhaps, *ḥikamiyya*, which means "wise."

I brought this matter up in this context because of the concern which the people of my city have shown in seeking the connection joining the title of the chapter and the *ḥadīths* which follow it. Their excessive concern with this problem has led to arbitrary interpretations which are unjustifiable.

I said: in situations in which it is difficult to understand the relationship between the title and the *ḥadīth*, this is a good rule to apply. But this occurs in only very few places, as shall be made clear, by the will of God.

It appears to me, however, that al-Bukhārī, despite this, used different methods to title his chapters. [p. 20] Thus, if he found a *ḥadīth* which was appropriate to the chapter, even if only in a hidden manner, and it was valid according to his criteria, he cited it using the conventions of his book, which are "He told us [*ḥaddathanā*]," an equivalent expression, or *ʿanʿana* meeting his criteria. However, if he could not find a *ḥadīth* which satisfies his criteria, despite its suitability for argumentation, he included it in the book but used an expression which was different from those expressions he used in citing *ḥadīths* which met his criteria. It is for this reason that he used *taʿliqs*, as will be explained in the chapter concerning the status of the *taʿliq*. However, if he could not find for the chapter a *ḥadīth* valid under his or others' criteria, but there was a *ḥadīth* which is beneficial (*yustaʿnas bihi*) and because some people give such texts precedence over analogy, he used the wording of that *ḥadīth* or its meaning as the title of the chapter. In such cases, he would then cite a verse from the Book of God testifying to the validity of its meaning or a *ḥadīth* supporting the general import of that [weak] report. Thus, the *ḥadīths* in the book are of three types, and this will be explained in detail, God willing.

Let us now begin to ascertain the criteria of validity used in the book and to establish that his book is the most valid book of Prophetic *ḥadīth*. Al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū al-Faḍl b. Ṭāhir (d. 507, 508/1113, 1114) said: in that which I read to the reliable Abū al-Faraj b. Ḥam-mād was that Yūnus b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Qawīyy informed him on the authority of Abū al-Ḥasan b. al-Muqayyar, on the authority of Abū al-Muʿammar al-Mubārak b. Aḥ-mad from him [al-Bukhārī]:

Al-Bukhārī's criteria is that he cites *ḥadīths*, the reliability of whose transmitters is agreed upon and which he can trace back to a famous companion, without any disagreement among the reliable scholars; moreover, the *isnād* must be continuous and unbroken. If there were two or more who narrated from the companion, then it is good, although one narrator is sufficient, provided that the path to him is valid.

He said: that which al-Hākim Abū ʿAbd Allāh (d. 405/1014) asserted about the criteria of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, i.e., that they required that there be two or more narrators from the companion and that there be two or more narrators from the famous follower, and so forth, is contradicted by the fact that they both cited *ḥadīths* of a group of Companions who only have one narrator.

[Ibn Ḥajar said:] that which al-Hākim said, although it is incorrect concerning some of the Companions whose *ḥadīths* al-Bukhārī cited, is valid for those after them, for there is not in the book a primary *ḥadīth* text³² that was transmitted by someone who [subsequently] had only one transmitter.

³² The Arabic reads *ḥadīthu aṣl*. This refers to Ibn Ḥajar's division of the texts in al-Bukhārī into primary and secondary, the former being valid, con-

nected *ḥadīths*, and the latter being texts found in his titles which do not meet al-Bukhārī's standards of validity.

Al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū Bakr al-Ḥāzimī (d. 584/1188), may God have mercy upon him, said: what al-Ḥākim said is the opinion of one who has not plunged deeply into the hidden parts of *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*. Had he only read the book completely in the manner it deserves to be read, he would have found several examples from the book which would have contradicted his claim. Then, in summary, he [al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū Bakr] said: the criteria of *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* is that the *ḥadīth*'s *isnād* be connected and that its narrator be a Muslim and truthful. He can neither be a *mudallis* nor have gone senile. He must be known for probity, precision, care, intelligence (salīm al-dhihn), making few errors, and having proper belief.

He [al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū Bakr al-Ḥāzimī] said: the method of those who compose *ṣaḥīḥs* is that they study the quality of the reliable transmitter's transmissions in his reports from his reliable teachers. Some of them, their *ḥadīths* are valid and established, while the *ḥadīths* of others are corrupted.

He said: there is some ambiguity in this subject. The manner in which it is clarified is knowledge of the transmitters' classes in respect to the narrator of the original report and the ranks of their sources of knowledge. Let us make this clear with an example. Suppose that you know that the students of al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742), for example, are five groups. Each group has an advantage over the one following it. The transmissions of the first group are the most valid, and these are the transmitters that al-Bukhārī seeks. The second group is equivalent to the first in critical ability. However, the first group, in addition to their ability, also spent a long time studying with al-Zuhrī. Among them were some who would accompany al-Zuhrī in travel and would remain with him when he was settled in one place. The second group, however, did not study with al-Zuhrī a long time, so it was not able to become sufficiently acquainted with his *ḥadīths*. Therefore, their mastery of al-Zuhrī's material was below the first's, although they satisfy Muslim's criteria (i.e., Muslim accepts the reports of both the first and the second group).

He [Abū Bakr al-Ḥāzimī] gave us [as] examples from the first group Yūnus b. Yazīd al-Aylī (d. 159/775), °Uqayl b. Khālīd al-Aylī (d. 141, 142, 144/758, 759, 761), Mālik b. Anas, Sufyān b. °Uyayna (198/814), and Shu°ayb b. Abī Ḥamza (d. 162, 163/778, 779). From the second group he gave as examples al-Awzā°i, al-Layth b. Sa°d (d. 175/791), °Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālīd b. Musāfir (d. 127/744), and Ibn Abī Dhi°b (d. 158/775).

He (Abū Bakr al-Ḥāzimī) said: examples of the third group are Ja°far b. Burqān (d. 150, 151, 154/767, 768, 770), Sufyān b. Ḥusayn, Ishāq b. Yaḥyā al-Kalbī. Examples of the fourth are Zam°a b. Šālīḥ, Mu°āwiya b. Yaḥyā al-Šadafi and al-Muthannā b. al-Šabāḥ (d. 149/766). Examples of the fifth are °Abd al-Quddūs b. Ḥabīb, al-Ḥakam b. °Abd Allāh al-Aylī, and Muḥammad b. Sa°id al-Mašlūb.

The first group satisfies the criteria of al-Bukhārī. He might, [p. 21] however, cite those *ḥadīths* of the second group which he considers to be valid, without including all [of them]. As for Muslim, he cites the *ḥadīths* of both groups inclusively and cites the *ḥadīths* of the third group in the manner that al-Bukhārī cites the second group's reports. As for the fourth and fifth, neither al-Bukhārī nor Muslim concerns himself with them.

I said: most of the reports which al-Bukhārī cites from the second group are *ta°liqs*, and he occasionally included a *ta°liq* from the third group. The above-mentioned principle, however, is valid only for those who have narrated many *ḥadīths* [such as al-Zuhrī]. By means of this principle, then, the students of Nāfi° (d. 117/735), al-A°mash (d. 148/765), Qatāda (d. 118/736), and others should be measured. As for those who did not narrate many *ḥadīths*, the two *shaykhs* (Muslim and Bukhārī) relied upon the [individual]

reliability and probity [of the transmitters], and also the rarity of their errors in citing their *ḥadīths*.

Among these (those who did not transmit many *ḥadīths*), however, were some on whom they (Muslim and Bukhārī) relied extensively. Thus, they both included *ḥadīths* of individuals such as Yahyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṣārī (d. 143/760), even when they were alone in reporting them. Among them (these *ḥadīths*), however, were those (the transmitters) in whom they could not place great trust, so they only cited from such ones those reports for which others transmitted parallel versions. The latter case is more common.

Al-Imām Abū ʿAmr b. al-Ṣalāḥ (d. 643/1245) said in his book, *Fī ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*, according to that which Abū al-Ḥasan b. al-Jawzī informed us on the authority of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Shāfiʿī from him directly (*samāʿan*): the first to compose a *ṣaḥīḥ* was Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī. He was followed by Abū al-Ḥusayn Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Qushayrī. Although Muslim had studied with al-Bukhārī and had benefited from him, they also shared several teachers. Their two books are the most valid books after the Book of God the Mighty.

As for that which was transmitted to us from al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820), may God be pleased with him, that he said: I do not know of a book of knowledge on Earth more correct than the book of Mālik, he (Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ) said: some of them narrated this using a different expression, i.e., “more valid than the *Muwattaʿ*.” He (al-Shāfiʿī) said that, however, before the books of al-Bukhārī and Muslim had been written.

Moreover, the book of al-Bukhārī is the more valid of the two and the more beneficial. As for that which was transmitted to us from Abū ʿAlī al-Hāfiz al-Naysābūrī (d. 349/960), the teacher of al-Ḥākim Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiz, that he said: “There is not a book under Heaven more valid than the book of Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj,” it, and the statement of one of the Maghribī scholars who preferred Muslim to al-Bukhārī, are unproblematic if the intent is that Muslim’s book is superior to al-Bukhārī’s in that Muslim did not include anything in the book other than valid *ḥadīth*. For, after the book’s opening invocation (*khuṭba*), there is nothing except valid *ḥadīth*, unmixed with the likes of that which is in al-Bukhārī’s book in the titles of his chapters which do not meet the criteria of validity.

It does not follow from this, however, that Muslim’s book is superior to al-Bukhārī’s in respect to validity. If what was intended [by this statement] is that the *ḥadīths* of Muslim are more valid than the *ḥadīths* of al-Bukhārī, then that is rejected, and God knows best.

[Ibn Ḥajar said:] there are some points in the previous statement which require evidence and explanation, for some of the Imāms have found problematic the unrestricted description of al-Bukhārī’s book as more valid than Mālik’s book because they both share the criteria of validity and an exaggerated critical sense. Furthermore, the fact that there are more *ḥadīths* in al-Bukhārī does not require that it have the virtue of being more valid.

The answer to that [objection] lies in the two authors’ respective understanding of validity. Mālik does not consider interruption in the *isnād* to be a defect in the *ḥadīth*. For this reason he cites *mursals*, *munqatiʿs*, and communications (*balāghāt*) as part of the main object of the book, whereas al-Bukhārī considers interruption a defect in the *isnād*. Therefore, he does not cite such *ḥadīths* except as something outside the main object of his book, such as *taʿliqs* and titles of chapters. Moreover, there is no doubt that although some may consider the interrupted report to be a valid argument, it is weaker than the connected report, since both reports share in the probity and reliability of their transmitters. Thus, the transparency of al-Bukhārī’s work is clear. It is certain that al-Shāfiʿī said that unrestrictedly

about the *Muwattaʿ* in respect to the collections that were extant in his age, such as the compilations of Sufyān al-Thawrī, Ḥammād b. Salama, and others. That is a preference which is granted without argument.

Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's comment also requires that the scholars are in agreement that al-Bukhārī's book is more valid than Muslim's, save that objection which he mentioned from Abū ʿAlī al-Naysābūrī above and one of the *shaykhs* of the Maghrib, [p. 22] i.e., that Muslim's book is preferable to al-Bukhārī's without, however, an explicit mention of validity as the criterion of preference.

We say: we were informed by means of the valid *isnād* from Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nasāʿī (d. 303/915), and he is the teacher of Abū ʿAlī al-Naysābūrī, that he said: "There is nothing in these books [of *ḥadīth*] better (*ajwad*) than the book of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl." He could mean by "better" nothing other than the quality of al-Bukhārī's *isnāds*, as is the immediate understanding arising from the convention of the *ḥadīth* specialists. A statement such as this from one such as al-Nasāʿī, due to his precision, inspection, care, and investigation in the criticism of transmitters, and his precedence in this matter over the people of his age, is the clearest expression [of praise one can earn]. Indeed, some of the specialists have even considered him superior in his knowledge of these matters to Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj. Al-Dāraquṭnī and others considered him superior in these and other issues, giving him precedence over the Imām of Imāms, Abū Bakr b. Khuzayma (d. 311/924), author of *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*.

Al-Ismāʿīlī, in his *Madkhal*, said: I have studied *al-Jāmiʿ* that Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Bukhārī composed and found it to be inclusive, as it was named, of many of the valid *sunan*, and pointing to many important derived meanings. Only one who has joined a knowledge of law and lexicography to knowledge of *ḥadīth* and its transmitters as well as knowledge of transmissions and their weaknesses can attain that which al-Bukhārī achieved. Furthermore, such a person must be very capable in all these subjects, having delved deeply into all of them. He, may God have mercy upon him, was the one who devoted his entire life to these pursuits. Thus, he became an expert and reached the end point of knowledge, and he surpassed the others. He joined to this a pure intention and the desire to be beneficial, so God benefited [us] through him and benefited him.

He (al-Ismāʿīlī) said: many, among them al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Ḥalwānī (d. 242/856), imitated his method, except that he limited himself to the *sunan*. Another was Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī (d. 275/889), who was a contemporary of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Bukhārī. His method in that which he called the *Sunan* was to mention that which had been narrated concerning the subject even if there was weakness in its *isnād*, assuming there were no other *ḥadīths* on the topic. Another was Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj. He was close to al-Bukhārī in time and thus desired the same goal as al-Bukhārī. He took from him [directly] or from his books, but he was not as exacting on himself as was Abū ʿAbd Allāh. Thus, he transmitted on the authority of many transmitters whom al-Bukhārī omitted. The goal of all was good, however, although not one of them reached the same level of exactitude as Abū ʿAbd Allāh. Furthermore, not one of them was able to derive meanings and discuss the subtle legal points of the *ḥadīth* in al-Bukhārī's fashion. Nor did any of them entitle their chapters in such a way as to bring out the relationship between the chapter's title and the *ḥadīth* narrated therein. Bounty is God's; He shows preference with it to whomever He wishes.

Al-Ḥākim, Abū Aḥmad al-Naysābūrī (d. 375/985), who was a contemporary of Abū ʿAlī al-Naysābūrī, and is given precedence over him in knowledge of the transmitters,

said, in what al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū Yaʿlā Al-Khalīlī (d. 446/1054) related in *al-Irshād*, the summary of which is: May God be merciful to Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. He organized the texts (*uṣūl*), meaning the texts of the rulings in the *ḥadīth*, and he explained [them] to the people. Everyone who worked on this subject after him borrowed from his book, like Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj.

Al-Dāraquṭnī, whenever the two *ṣaḥīḥs* were mentioned, would say, “were it not for al-Bukhārī, Muslim would not have gone or come.” Another time he said, “What did Muslim do? All he did was take al-Bukhārī’s book and compose a **mustakhraj** based upon it, while making some additions.” Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Qurtubī in the beginning of his book, *al-Mufhim fī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, openly declared that which we have related from al-Dāraquṭnī.

What the Imāms have said concerning the superiority of al-Bukhārī is great, and it is sufficient to note their agreement that he was more knowledgeable in this discipline than Muslim and that Muslim used to testify to his precedence, his leadership, and his singularity in the knowledge of this in his own lifetime. This even resulted in Muslim abandoning his own teacher, Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Duhālī (d. 258/871), according to the famous story, which we shall mention in detail, God willing, in the biography of al-Bukhārī. This is a general explanation [of al-Bukhārī’s superiority].

As for the specific reasons of his superiority over Muslim, we have already established that the basis of a valid *ḥadīth* is connectedness, the precision of the transmitters, and the absence of defects. Upon observation, the narrators in al-Bukhārī’s book are more careful and are more closely connected. The proof of this lies in the following considerations: (1) The first is that those whose *ḥadīths* al-Bukhārī included in his book, but Muslim did not, are just over 430 transmitters, 80 of whom are mentioned as being weak. [p. 23] Those whose *ḥadīths* Muslim transmitted, but al-Bukhārī did not, are 620 transmitters, 160 of whom are mentioned as being weak. There is no doubt that including the transmissions of those who were never mentioned as weak is more appropriate than to include the *ḥadīths* of those who were mentioned as weak, though these accusations may not be substantial. (2) The second is that al-Bukhārī did not include many of the *ḥadīths* of those transmitters who were mentioned as weak. Furthermore, he did not include the books of any one of them, in whole or in part, with the exception of the corpus of ʿIkrima (d. 105/723) on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 68/687), as opposed to Muslim who included most of those books, such as Abū al-Zubayr (d. 126/743) on the authority of Jābir (d. 78/697), Suhayl (d. 138/755) from his father, al-ʿAlāʾ b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān (d. 132, 138/749, 755) from his father, Ḥammād b. Salama from Thābit (d. 123, 127/740, 744), in addition to others. (3) The third is that of those transmitters whom al-Bukhārī was alone in including, most of them were his teachers whom he had met and with whom he had studied. Thus he knew their conditions and was well acquainted with their *ḥadīths*. Therefore, he was able to distinguish their valid *ḥadīths* from the products of their imagination. Of the transmitters that Muslim had included and mentioned as being weak, however, most of them preceded his generation, as they were Followers and those after them. Furthermore, there is no doubt that the traditionist is more knowledgeable of his teachers’ *ḥadīths* than those who had preceded them. (4) The fourth is that al-Bukhārī only selectively included transmissions from the second class of narrators, whereas Muslim includes them as principle texts, as has been established previously by al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū Bakr al-Ḥāzimī.

These four considerations concern the transmitters' precision. There remains the issue of connectedness, which is the fifth consideration. Muslim's method, as he said explicitly in the introduction to his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, and where he responded vehemently to those who criticized him, was to consider the **mu^can^can** connected if the two transmitters were contemporaries, though their meeting had not actually been established, unless the **mu^can^cin** was a **mudallis**. Al-Bukhārī, however, does not consider the **mu^can^can** to be connected until their meeting has been established, even if only once.

Al-Bukhārī used this method in his *Tārikh*, and in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* he used it extensively. Sometimes, he would even include a *ḥadīth* which seems to have no apparent connection to the topic, but it establishes that the narrator had studied directly with that teacher, since prior to that he had included some transmission of his which was **mu^can^can**. You will see this clearly when it occurs, God willing. This is why his book is superior because, although we may grant Muslim's claim of connectedness, it is obvious that al-Bukhārī's criteria make the claim of connectedness clearer, but God knows best.

As for those considerations that are related to defects, and it is the sixth aspect, the number of their *ḥadīths* which have been criticized reached 210, as will be made clear in detail in an independent chapter. Fewer than 80 of these are al-Bukhārī's, and the remainder are Muslim's. There is no doubt that that which has been criticized less is better than that which has been criticized more, but God knows best.

As for Abū ʿAlī al-Naysābūrī's statement, we have yet to find for him an explicit declaration that Muslim's book is more valid than al-Bukhārī's, contrary to what the unrestricted statement of al-Shaykh Muhyī al-Dīn [al-Nawawī] implies in his *Mukhtaṣar fī ʿulūm al-ḥadīth* and in his introduction to his commentary on al-Bukhārī, where he says:

The majority have agreed that al-Bukhārī is the more valid of the two, and the more beneficial of the two. But Abū ʿAlī al-Naysābūrī and one of the Maghribī scholars said that Muslim's is more valid.

The import of Abū ʿAlī's statement is to deny greater validity to any work other than Muslim's book. As for claiming greater validity, however, that is uncertain, since his statement is unqualified (*muṭlaq*). Thus, he could have intended either that the book of Muslim is superior or he could have merely intended that the two books are equal, but God knows best.

But, as Abū ʿAlī's opinion appears to me, he seems to have given Muslim precedence over al-Bukhārī for a reason other than that which we have been discussing, i.e., the relevant criteria of the transmitters necessary for establishing a valid transmission. Rather, he gave precedence to Muslim because Muslim composed his book in his town with his texts in front of him during the lifetime of many of his teachers. Thus, he was able to be very careful in preserving the wording of his *ḥadīths* and was able to inspect them closely during composition. Furthermore, because he did not attempt to do that which al-Bukhārī did, i.e., derive legal rulings around which chapters could be organized, something which necessitated **taqṭī^c** of his *ḥadīths* according to their topics, Muslim was able to gather all the paths of the *ḥadīth* in one place and could limit himself to *ḥadīths* and omit **mawqūfs**. It was only in a few places that he made use of them, and that was secondary, not intended.

[p. 24] It is for this reason that Abū ʿAlī said what he said, although I have seen some of the Imāms say that it is possible that he did not see the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī. That seems to me unlikely. What I have mentioned is more plausible, but if Abū ʿAlī had ever

said explicitly that which has been attributed to him, his argument would be refuted by that which we have mentioned previously, both in general and in detail, and God is the granter of success.

As for the Maghribī *shaykh*, no statement is related by them (the Maghribīs) specifically ascribing superior validity to Muslim; rather, there is one unqualified statement regarding Muslim's superiority according to that which Abū al-Faḍl al-Qāḍī ʿIyād (d. 544/1064) related in the *Ilmāʿ* from Abū Marwān al-Tubnī. He (Abū Marwān) said, "One of my teachers preferred the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim to the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī." I, however, have discovered the explanation for this preference from one of the Maghribīs. I read in the *Fihrist* of Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim b. al-Qāsim al-Tujībī, "Abū Muḥammad b. Ḥazm (456/1064) preferred the book of Muslim to the book of al-Bukhārī because after Muslim's invocation, there is nothing in the book except *ḥadīth*."

I think that this Ibn Ḥazm is the *shaykh* of Abū Marwān al-Tubnī, whose name al-Qāḍī ʿIyād omitted. It is possible that it is another person, although the reason for the preference would be the same.

Another example of this is the statement of Maslama b. Qāsim al-Qurtubī³³ (d. 353/964), and he was a contemporary of al-Dāraquṭnī. When he mentioned the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim in his history, he said, "No one has made a book like it." That also is to be taken as praise for its excellent composition and the excellence of its organization.

I have noticed that many of the Maghribīs who have written on legal *ḥadīths* while omitting the texts' *isnāds*, such as ʿAbd al-Haqq (d. 581/1185) in his *Ahkām* and *Jamʿ*, rely on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* for the transmission and citation of texts instead of al-Bukhārī. This is due to their (the texts') existence in Muslim in their entirety, whereas al-Bukhārī had abbreviated them. This is another reason of preference which has nothing to do with the matter of validity, but God knows best.

Now that this has been established, this argument for al-Bukhārī's superiority can be met by another argument for its superiority, one that also has nothing to do with validity. It is that which al-Imām, the model [scholar], Abū Muḥammad b. Abī Jamra (d. 599/1202) mentioned in his abridgment of *Ṣaḥīḥ* al-Bukhārī. He said:

One of the mystics (ʿ*ārifīn*) whom I met told me that one of the masters, well known for his virtue and superiority said: "The *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī, if it is read in a time of crisis, the crisis is resolved, and it has not been brought upon a boat which subsequently sank."

He (Ibn Abī Jamra) also said: the prayers of al-Bukhārī were answered, and he prayed for his readers, may God have mercy upon him.

The most important reason which requires preferring al-Bukhārī is what his book included by way of the chapter titles, whose brilliance confused great intellects, and astonished the mind and eyes. They reached this rank, and obtained this station, because of an awesome cause which necessitated this. This cause is revealed in what Abū Aḥmad b. ʿAdī narrated from ʿAbd al-Quddūs b. Humām, who said:

I witnessed several *shaykhs* say: Al-Bukhārī changed the titles of his *Jāmiʿ*, meaning he finalized them (*bayyadahā*), between the grave of the Prophet (S) and his pulpit, and he would pray two *rakʿas* for every title.

³³ The text calls him Muslim b. Qāsim, which is an error.

Now, let us begin discussion of the titles and clarify that which remained hidden to those who were not scrutinizing and that which expressed the criticisms of a raw youth before an experienced old or middle aged man, falling well short of his goal.³⁴

The first item of his titles to fall under criticism was the first *ḥadīth* he included, which he used to begin the book and open the book's invocation. Blame succeeded in returning some of his critics toward his side, while others persisted in their opposition.

Let us mention a rule which explains the different types of titles in the book, some of which are obvious in their purpose, while others are hidden. The ones that are clear, however, are not a matter of our concern here. The clear titles are those that signify the chapter's contents by way of correspondence (*muṭābaqa*). Its purpose is to inform [the reader] of the chapter's contents without consideration of the amount of the benefit, as though al-Bukhārī is saying, "this is the chapter in which there is this and that," or "the chapter in which there is evidence for such and such a ruling," for example.

Sometimes, the title is taken [either] from the exact wording of the chapter's text—a portion of it, that is, or from its meaning. Usually, this [i.e., in the latter case] happens when the wording of the text can bear more than one meaning. Therefore, he will specify one of the meanings by those *ḥadīths* which are mentioned below the title.

The opposite of this can also be found, however, i.e., the ambiguity can be [p. 25] in the *ḥadīth*, while the title clarifies it. In this context, the title serves to interpret the *ḥadīth*, taking the place of the jurist's statement, for example, "the meaning of this general *ḥadīth* is particular," or "the meaning of this specific *ḥadīth* is general." Thus, the title creates the impression of an analogy because of the existence of the unifying *ratio legis* or that the particular which is intended to convey a more general meaning than its apparent meaning does so by way of *al-a^ḥlā* or *al-adnā*.³⁵ That which we have mentioned about the general and the particular is also true for the unqualified term and the qualified term. The same is also the case for the explanation of the problematic, clarification of the ambiguous, interpretation of the apparent, and detailing the succinct. This is where most of the problematic instances of this book's titles lie. This is the reason for the frame of the saying of many nobles "Al-Bukhārī's jurisprudence (*fiqh*) is in his titles."

Al-Bukhārī usually resorts to this when he cannot find a *ḥadīth* which meets his criteria of validity and whose apparent meaning is [the same as] what he intends to establish in the chapter. He also may do this for the purpose of sharpening the intellect [by requiring the reader] to make explicit the implicit and to bring the hidden into the open. Indeed, he does this often, meaning the latter, where he mentions the explanatory *ḥadīth* for that context in either a previous or a later place in the book, as though he is referring the reader to it, pointing to it by way of subtle suggestion and reference.

³⁴ "Falling . . . goal" is a paraphrase of an Arabic proverb which reads "awradahā irāda sa^ḥḍin wa sa^ḥ-dun mushtamilun, ma hākadhā tūradu yā sa^ḥ-du al-ibilu." See Abū al-Faḍl Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maydānī, *Majma^ḥ al-amthāl*, 4 vols., ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo, 1978), vol. 3, p. 427.

³⁵ *Al-adnā* refers to the *a fortiori* argument, which entails mentioning only a *naw^ḥ* (pl. *anwā^ḥ*), "species," while intending the *jins*, "type." An example is the word "Fie" in verse 17:23 "Do not say to them [your parents] 'Fie!'" It includes hitting, cursing, kill-

ing, etc. To prohibit a *naw^ḥ*, therefore, is to prohibit at the same time the *jins* of that *naw^ḥ*. *Al-a^ḥlā* is when the *jins* is mentioned, but the sense of the utterance is restricted to only particular species of the *jins*. An example is verse 9:103, "Take from their property charity." Property, however, is understood to apply only to certain types of property. It entails, then, a restriction of the word's meaning. See, Abū al-Walid Ibn Rushd, al-Ḥafid, *Bidāyat al-mujtahid* (Cairo, n.d.), p. 2.

Often he titles his chapters using the interrogative, such as "Chapter: Is This Such and Such?" or "Those Who Said Such and Such," and so forth. This is when he is not certain which of the two possibilities is correct. In doing this, his goal is to explain whether or not a specific ruling has or has not been established. Thus, he will give the chapter a title using a ruling, although his goal is to show that the conclusiveness of the rule is yet to be established or that the evidence supports both possibilities. Although one of the two positions might be more apparent [to him], he wants to leave the matter open for inquiry and to point out that there remains room for further interpretation or that there is a contradiction that requires a suspension of judgment. This occurs when he believes there is indeterminacy in the texts or that the method used in deriving the ruling is a controversial type of inference.

He often uses titles that appear to be of little utility, but when the observer is careful and precise, its meaning appears. For example, his statement, "Chapter: A Man's Saying, 'We Have Not Prayed'." This statement is a rebuttal to those who find such a statement detestable. Another example is his statement, "A man's saying, 'the prayer passed us'." This is likewise an argument against those who detest this unqualified wording.

Often his titles reflect particular events which do not immediately appear at first glance, such as his statement, "Chapter: The Imām's Using a Toothpick in the Presence of His Subjects." Because it might be thought that use of the toothpick is something low, some people might imagine that it is more appropriate for it to be done in private, so as to protect their good reputation. But, as it occurred in the *ḥadīth* that the Prophet (S) used a toothpick in the presence of the people, this signifies that it falls under the rubric of proper grooming, nothing else. Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd (d. 702/1302) pointed this out.

Often he titles the chapter with a word that refers to the meaning of a *ḥadīth* which did not meet his criteria of validity, or he may use the explicit wording of a *ḥadīth* which failed to meet his criteria in the title. He will then include in the chapter a text which will bear its meaning, sometimes in an apparent manner, other times in a hidden manner.

An example is his statement, "Chapter: The Commanders Are from the Quraysh." This is the wording of a *ḥadīth* transmitted from ʿAlī [b. Abī Tālib], may God be pleased with him, but it did not meet al-Bukhārī's criteria. However, he did include in the chapter the *ḥadīth* "There shall always remain a governor from the Quraysh."

Another example is his statement, "Chapter: Two, or More, Are a Group." This is the wording of a *ḥadīth* transmitted from Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, but it does not meet al-Bukhārī's standards. He then transmitted in this chapter, "(You two) make the *adhān*, and say the *iqāma*, and let one of you (two) lead the other (in prayer)."³⁶

Sometimes he was content to use the wording of a *ḥadīth* which is not valid according to him as the wording of the title. He then included with it a report from a Companion or a verse from the Qurʾān, as though he is saying that there are no valid *ḥadīths* in the chapter which satisfy his criteria.

A lack of concern for these subtle goals has caused some careless readers of the book to believe that he did not put it into final form [*tabyīd*]. The one who observes carefully achieves his goal, and the one who is serious will find what he seeks.

³⁶ The *adhān* is the first call to prayer, and the *iqāma* is the second (and final) call to prayer.

The ^ʿAllāma Nāsir al-Dīn Aḥmad b. al-Munayyir Khatīb al-Iskandiriyya (d. 683/1284) collected four hundred titles of this type, and al-Qāḍī Badr al-Dīn Ibn Jamā^ʿa commented upon them and summarized them, making some additions. One of the Maghribīs, Muḥammad b. Mansūr b. Hamāma al-Sijilmasī, commented upon this [problem of the titles], but his work is not very long. Indeed, all that is in the book is about one hundred titles, and he named his book *Fakk aghrāḍ al-Bukhārī al-mubhama fi al-jam^ʿ bayna al-hadīth wa al-tarjama* [Unlocking al-Bukhārī's ambiguities in the relationship of the *ḥadīth* to its title]. Zayn al-Dīn ^ʿAlī b. al-Munayyir, the brother of al-^ʿAllāma Nāsir al-Dīn, also discussed at great length this matter in his commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī. I also happened upon a volume from a book entitled, *Tarjumān al-tarājim* [The interpreter of the chapter titles] of Abū ^ʿAbd Allāh b. Rushayd al-Sabtī (d. 721/1321), which includes discussion of this issue. The volume reached the Book of Fasting. Had it been completed, it would have been extremely useful. Despite its incompleteness, it remains a very beneficial work, and God is the granter of success.

CHAPTER 3

Explanation of His Abbreviation and Summation of Ḥadīths and the Benefit in His Repetition of Ḥadīths in Different Chapters [p. 26]

Al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī said, in a work of his which he called *Jawāb al-muta^ʿannit* [A reply to the stubborn], according to what we were told: know that al-Bukhārī, may God have mercy upon him, would mention a *ḥadīth* in his book in several contexts. Moreover, in every chapter that he uses it, he cites it with a different **isnād**. Furthermore, with his vast understanding, and deductive abilities, he would extract from a single text an appropriate meaning for the different chapters in which he cites it. Rarely does he cite a *ḥadīth* in more than one context with the same **isnād** and the same wording. Rather, he cites it from different paths for reasons which we shall mention, but God knows best what his object is in doing this.

One of his techniques is to cite the *ḥadīth* from one companion, then cite it again from another companion, with the purpose of clearing it from the charge of being anomalous (*gharāba*). He follows the same technique for the transmitters of the second and third generations, and so forth, until he reaches his own teachers. The one who is not familiar with the craft [of *ḥadīth*] thinks this constitutes a repetition, but it does not, for it provides new information.

Another reason [for doing this] is that by using this method, he was able to include other *ḥadīths*, each version of which contains different ideas. Thus, he cites each one in a different chapter using a path different than the first.

Another reason is that there are *ḥadīths* which some transmitters have narrated in their entirety while others narrated only in a summary fashion. He narrates them as they have come down to him so as to exonerate their transmitters from any suspicions.

Another reason is that the wording of the narrators may differ. Thus, one transmitter might report the *ḥadīth* using a word that bears a certain meaning, and another transmitter might have reported that *ḥadīth* using a different expression for the very same word which could give an entirely different meaning [to the *ḥadīth*]. In this case, he will cite

each version, assuming they are valid according to his criteria, with its path, and make a separate chapter for each version.

Another purpose is the issue of *ḥadīths* which exist both as **muttaṣil** and **mursal**. The probability of connectedness appeared more likely to him, causing him to include it. He narrates the **mursal** version to alert the reader that its existence as a **mursal** did not affect his judgment about the connectedness of the *ḥadīth*.³⁷

Another is those reports which exist both attributed to the Prophet (S) and attributed to a Companion. His treatment of these is similar to the previous question.

Another reason is those *ḥadīths* in which one of the narrators added a transmitter to the **isnād**, and another omitted him. In such a case he narrates both versions, where he believes that the transmitter heard it from a teacher who reported it to him from another teacher. Later, the transmitter met the other teacher who reported it to him directly. Thus, the transmitter would narrate both versions.³⁸

Another reason is that he may cite a *ḥadīth* whose narrator transmitted it with **an^cana**, so he cites it from a different path which makes explicit that there was a meeting [between the different transmitters], as is well known about his method concerning establishing a meeting before accepting the **mu^can^can**. These are the reasons he may repeat a single text in one or more places.

As for his abbreviation of *ḥadīths* in certain chapters, and his abridgement of them in others, this is because of the text's brevity, or the interconnectedness of its parts, and its having expressed two or more judgments together. In this case, he repeats it according to the meaning desired, while at the same time he tries to make sure it is not empty of *ḥadīth* information. Thus, he cites the *ḥadīth* from a teacher other than the one on whose authority it had been cited previously, as has been explained in detail above. Thus, you gain for that *ḥadīth* many paths. Sometimes he would add to it the provenance (*makhraj*) of the *ḥadīth* where he knows of only one path for it. In such cases, he acts freely with it, at times citing it connected, at others **mu^callaq**, sometimes he cites it completely, other times he limits himself to that part which is of relevance to him in that chapter. Thus, if the text contains several unconnected ideas, he mentions each idea in a separate chapter to avoid lengthening the book. Sometimes, however, he will cite it in its entirety. These are his reasons for abbreviation.

One of al-Bukhārī's commentators related that in one of the copies of the book, in [the Book of] Pilgrimage, in the chapter on hastening to stand [at ^cArafat] after the chapter on shortening the sermon at ^cArafat, that Abū ^cAbd Allāh said: "In this chapter the *ḥadīth* of Mālik from Ibn al-Shihāb [al-Zuhri] should be added, but I do not wish to add to it a superfluous (repeated) *ḥadīth*." This statement means that he does not repeat a *ḥadīth* in his book which has both the same text and **isnād**. If such a thing has occurred in the book,

³⁷ There is a controversy among *ḥadīth* specialists as to which form should be given greater credence in the event that both a **mursal** and a **muttaṣil** version exist. See ^cUthmān b. ^cAbd al-Rahmān Ibn al-Ṣalāh, *Muqaddimat ibn al-ṣalāh*, ed. Bint al-Shāṭi³ (Cairo, 1989), pp. 228–29, and al-Bulqaynī, *Maḥāsin al-iṣṭilāh*, on the bottom half of *Muqaddimat Ibn al-Ṣalāh*, p. 212.

³⁸ For example: A related to B who related to C

that the Prophet did x. Then, C tells D on the authority of B from A that the Prophet did x. Later, however, C meets A, who narrates x to him directly. Then, C tells E on the authority of A that the Prophet did x. Thus, we have two different **isnāds** for the same text and for the same transmitter C: (1) D ---- C ---- B ---- A, the Prophet, (2) E ---- C ---- A, the Prophet.

then it is accidental. In any case, that actually happened only a few times, and when I reach them in my commentary, I shall point them out, God willing.

As for mentioning [p. 27] only part of a text, then not citing the rest of it in another context, he rarely did such a thing. This occurs when the omitted text is a statement of a companion, but there might be a reason which could lead to part of it being considered attributable to the Prophet. In such cases, he summarizes that which he thinks can be attributed to the Prophet and omits the rest, since it has nothing to do with the purpose of his book.

An example of this is the *ḥadīth* of Huzayl b. Shurāḥbīl from ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd, may God be pleased with him, who said: "The people of Islām do not abandon their freed slaves (*ahl al-Islām lā yusayyibūn*),³⁹ although the people of the Jāhiliyya did do this."⁴⁰ Al-Bukhārī cited it in this manner, and it is a summary of a *mawqūf ḥadīth*, the beginning of which is: "A man came to ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd and said, 'I have freed a slave of mine and left him. He died and left property but no heir'. ʿAbd Allāh said: 'The people of Islām do not abandon their freed slaves, although the people of Jāhiliyya did do this. You are the possessor of his bounty so you can have his estate. But if you are afraid of sinning and feel ashamed, then we shall accept it and put into the treasury'."

Al-Bukhārī limited his citation to that part which can be attributed to the Prophet, and that is ʿAbd Allāh's statement: "The people of Islām do not abandon their freed slaves." Al-Bukhārī reasoned that the statement's generality requires that it had been transmitted from the Lawgiver. He then summarized the remainder, since it is not part of the book's subject. This is among the most hidden instances of this type that I have come across.

With this established, it has become clear that he does not repeat [a *ḥadīth*] except for some reason. Even if it does not appear to be connected with the *isnād* or the text, it has been repeated because of a different ruling that the text contains which is emphasized by the second title. It follows from this that such repetitions should not be considered superfluous. How [could it be otherwise] when he does not empty it of additional information regarding the *isnād*, which is that he cites it from a different teacher, as has been made clear in detail previously. This is clear to whoever does a comprehensive reading of his book, and is honest to himself, and God is the granter of success, there is no God other than Him.

CHAPTER 4

Explanation of his Reason for Citing Muʿallaqs Which are Marfūʿ and Mawqūf and an Explanation of the Rules [Governing] That

The meaning of *taʿliq* is that report in which one or more names have been omitted from the beginning of its *isnād*, even if it is the entire *isnād*. Sometimes, al-Bukhārī is certain of its attribution, so says: "He said," while at other times he is uncertain of it, so says: "It is mentioned. . . ."

³⁹ *Sayyaba ʿabdahu* means to free one's slave while renouncing both rights of inheritance and obligations of blood money. See Majd al-Dīn b. al-Athīr,

al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth wa al-athar, 5 vols. (Beirut, 1979), vol. 2, p. 431.

⁴⁰ The Arabic is "aʿtaqtu ʿabdi sāʾibatan."

The **mu^callaq** which is **marfū^c** is of two types. The first is that which is found in another place in the book connected. The second is that which is in the book only as a **mu^callaq**. As for the first, we have already explained the reason for it in the chapter preceding this one. He cites it **mu^callaq** because it can only be cited from one path,⁴¹ since it is one of his principles that he does not repeat [a *ḥadīth*] unless repetition has a benefit. When the paths of the *ḥadīth* are few, then, and the text is inclusive of several rulings, he needs to repeat it. In this case, however, he takes liberty with the **isnād** by summarizing it out of fear of being lengthy.

The second type, and that is the *ḥadīth* which is not mentioned in the book except as a **mu^callaq**, comes in two forms. Either he cites it using a form [implying] certainty (*jazm*), or he cites it using a form [implying] weakness (*tamrīd*).⁴²

Knowledge of the transmission's validity up to the transmitter on whom al-Bukhārī suspended the text is gained from the first form. Nevertheless, one must still inquire into those transmitters of the *ḥadīth* whose names he has revealed. Sometimes, they meet his criteria, while at other times they do not.

As for those that meet his criteria, there are several reasons why he did not cite these texts connected. One is that he has already cited a *ḥadīth* similar in meaning being free therefore not to cite the full version because of the previous complete citation. Thus, he cited it as a **ta^cliq** to be brief. Another reason is that he had heard it in that manner; or he heard it but doubted his having heard it from his teacher; or he heard it from his teacher during a discussion (*mudhākaratan*), so he did not think to include it as part of the work. This happens most often in those texts which he cited on the authority of his teachers. An example of this is in the Book of Trusteeship (*wikāla*), where he said:

ʿUthmān b. al-Haytham said: ʿAwf told us, Muḥammad b. Sīrīn told us, from Abū Hurayra, may God be pleased with him, who said: the Messenger of God (S) appointed me as an agent for the *zakāt* of Ramadān, . . . the rest of the *ḥadīth*.

He also cited this *ḥadīth* in other places, among them the chapter on the virtues of the Qurʾān and the chapter in Iblīs. However, he did not say “ʿUthmān told us,” in any of the places where the *ḥadīth* is cited. Thus, it is apparent that he did not hear it from him.

The author has used this expression for that which he did not hear [p. 28] from his teachers in a number of *ḥadīths* where he cites them on their authority using the expression, “So-and-so said (*qāla fulān*).” In another context, however, he would cite them with an intermediary between him and them, and many examples of this will be seen. For example, he said in the *Tārikh*, “Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā said: Hishām b. Yūsuf told us,” then he (al-Bukhārī) mentioned a *ḥadīth*. Then, he said: “They told this to me on the authority of Ibrāhīm.”

This, however, is not always the case in everything that he has cited using this expression, i.e., “he said.” Because of the possibility [that he did not hear it], texts he cited using this expression should not be taken to mean that he heard them from his teachers. It does not follow from this, however, that he is a **mudallis**, for al-Khaṭīb (al-Baghdādī) and others have said explicitly that the phrase “he said” should not be taken to mean “he heard” unless it is the practice of the transmitter to use this phrase only for those reports which

⁴¹ The Arabic is “ḥaythu yaḏīqu makhraj al-ḥadīth.”

⁴² These are formal categories based upon the voice

of the verb. To cite a text with the active voice, for example, “he said,” is to use *jazm*. To cite a text with the passive voice, for example, “It is said,” is to use *tamrīd*.

he has heard. This requires that for those whose custom in this matter is not known, the possibility [that he did not hear it from his teachers] remains, and God, the High, knows best.

As for that which does not meet his criteria, it may satisfy the criteria of others, and may be good and valid for argumentation. It might be weak not on account of a weakness in its transmitters but because of a minor interruption in its *isnād*. Al-Isṁāʿīlī said:

Al-Bukhārī might do this either because he heard it from that teacher through an intermediary [whose reports] from that teacher he considers reliable because he [the intermediary] is known and famous in [transmitting] from that teacher or because he heard it from someone who does not meet his criteria of validity. By naming who tells it, he draws attention to that *ḥadīth*. He does not cite it in order to relate it himself.

I said: the cause of this is that he desired to cite it, but not as part of the book's principal texts.

An example of that which is valid by the standards of others is his statement in [the Book of] Ritual Purity, “ʿĀʾisha, may God be pleased with her, said, ‘The Prophet (S) used to remember God at all times.’” This *ḥadīth* is valid according to the standards of Muslim, and he cited it in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* as will be seen.

An example of that which is good and appropriate for argumentation is his statement, “Buhz b. Ḥukaym from his father, from his grandfather, who said, ‘God is more worthy to be ashamed of than the people’.” It is a good, famous *ḥadīth* from Buhz, and the authors of the *Sunan* cited it as will be seen.

An example of that which is weak due to interruption [in its *isnād*], except that it is saved by another consideration is his statement in [the Book of] *Zakāt*, “Ṭāwūs said: ‘Muʿādh b. Jabal said to the people of Yaman: bring me garments, either small or used, for the poor as your *ṣadaqa* instead of wheat and barley, as it is easier for you and better for the Companions of Muḥammad (S).’” Its attribution to Ṭāwūs is valid; however, Ṭāwūs did not study with Muʿādh.

One of the recent commentators, however, raised an objection about the judgment concerning the form [implying] certainty, and that it does not establish the validity of the *ḥadīth* up to the **muʿallaq ʿanhu**. He [the one raising the objection] noted that the author cited a *ḥadīth* about which the objector said:

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Faḍl said on the authority of Abū Salama on the authority of Abū Hurayra from the Prophet (S), that he said, “Do not say one prophet is more worthy than another . . . the *ḥadīth*.” Abū Masʿūd al-Dimashqī was certain that this report is not valid, because ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Faḍl transmitted it from al-Aʿraj from Abū Hurayra, not from Abū Salama. Moreover, this objection is strengthened by the fact that the author cited it in another context connected (**muttaṣil**), and he said: “From ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Faḍl from al-Aʿraj from Abū Hurayra.”

This objection is rejected, and the rule [about his **taʿliq**s] remains valid, and is not contradicted by this weak argument. Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī (d. 204/819) narrated this *ḥadīth* in his *Musnad* from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Faḍl from Abū Salama from Abū Hurayra, just as al-Bukhārī had suspended it exactly. Thus, Abū Masʿūd's claim that ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Faḍl did not transmit the report except from al-Aʿraj is shown to be false. Rather, it has been established that ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Faḍl learned this *ḥadīth* from two teachers, and we shall explain this in more detail in the proper place, God willing.

The second type is the form [implying] weakness. Validity to whom the *ḥadīth* was suspended cannot be obtained from this form. Some of this type may be valid, however, while others may not, as we shall demonstrate. As for that which is valid, we did not find that which meets his criteria of validity except in a very few places. Furthermore, we have discovered that he does not use this form except when he cites the *ḥadīth* with its meaning, not its wording. An example in his statement in [the Book of] Medicine, "[a report] is mentioned on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās from the Prophet (S) concerning the use of the Fātiḥa of the Book as a charm [to heal the sick]." He related this *ḥadīth* in another context as a **musnad**, using the path of ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Akhnas from [p. 29] Ibn Abī Malika from Ibn ʿAbbās, may God be pleased with both of them, that a group of the Prophet's (S) Companions passed through a tribe, one of whose members had been stung (by a scorpion). Then, he mentioned the *ḥadīth* about their treating the man using the Fātiḥa. In the *ḥadīth* the Prophet (S), when they informed him of what happened, says: "The best thing for which you have taken a wage is the Book of God."

This, as you see, shows that in the first version discussed, he cited only the report's meaning, and therefore, he did not cite it using the form [implying] certainty. This is because there is nothing in the connected version which suggests that the Prophet (S) himself said anything about using the Fātiḥa as a charm. All that he did was not to forbid them from doing so. This [knowledge] is obtained from al-Bukhārī's presentation [of the material].

As for those reports in which he used the form [implying] weakness which were not cited in another context, some are valid, although not by his criteria, some are good, some are weak, and thus, rejected, except that they are in conformity with practice, and, some are weak, and thus, rejected, with no mitigating circumstances which would compensate for their formal deficiency.

An example of the first is al-Bukhārī's statement in [the Book of] *Ṣalāt*: "It is mentioned from ʿAbd Allāh b. Sāʿib that he said, 'The Prophet (S) recited "al-Muʾminūn" during the morning prayer up to the story of Moses and Aaron, or Jesus, at which point he coughed, so [he stopped reciting] and he bowed (*rakaʿ*).'" This is a valid *ḥadīth* under the criteria of Muslim. He included it in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Al-Bukhārī, however, did not cite [any *ḥadīths* transmitted] by one of its transmitters. He said in [the Book of] Fasting:

It is mentioned on the authority of Abū Khālid from al-Aʿmash from al-Ḥakam, and Muslim al-Baṭīn and Salama b. Kāhil from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, and ʿAtāʾ and Mujāhid from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "A woman said to the Prophet (S), 'My sister died, and she still had to fast two months consecutively, . . . the *ḥadīth*.'"

The transmitters of this *ḥadīth* are all cited in the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, except that there are great differences in its *isnād*. Moreover, Abū Khālid Sulaymān b. Ḥayyān al-Aḥmar was alone in citing it in this fashion, and the best students of al-Aʿmash differed from him in this regard, as will be demonstrated, God willing.

An example of the second kind, which is the good, is his statement in [the Book of] Sales, "It is mentioned from ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, may God be pleased with him, that the Prophet (S) told him: 'When you sell, weigh [the sold material], and when you buy, ask that it [the material bought] be weighed.'" Al-Dāraquṭnī transmitted this *ḥadīth* from the path of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mughīra, who is truthful (*ṣadūq*), from Munqidh, the client of ʿUthmān. Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab accepted this [as a valid transmission] from ʿUthmān and followed it. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, in his *Musnad*, cited it from the path of [Saʿīd b. al-

Musayyab], except that in its *isnād* is Ibn Lahī^ca. Ibn Abī Shayba transmitted it in his *Muṣannaf* [using the path] from ʿAtā^ʿ from ʿUthmān, in which there is an interruption. The *ḥadīth* is good, then, because of these factors which strengthen it.

An example of the third, and it is the weak which has no [external formal] support [*ʿādid*], except that it is in concord with practice [*ʿamal*], is his statement in [the Book of] Bequests: "It is mentioned from the Prophet (S) that he ruled that debts are to be paid off before bequests." Al-Tirmidhī (d. 279/892) narrated this connected from the *ḥadīth* of Abū Ishāq al-Sabī^ci from al-Ḥārith al-A^cwar from ʿAlī. Al-Ḥārith is weak, and al-Tirmidhī declared the *ḥadīth* to be strange (*istaghrabahu*). He also mentioned the consensus of the knowledgeable in favor of this opinion, however.

The fourth kind, and it is that which is weak and without [external formal] support is extremely rare in the book. Moreover, where it occurs, the author explicitly mentions its [the *ḥadīth*'s] weakness, contrary to his practice toward the previous kind. An example of this is his statement in the Book of Prayer, "It is mentioned from Abū Hurayra, who attributed it [to the Prophet], 'The Imām shall not pray a voluntary prayer in the place [in which he led the congregational prayer]'" This is not a valid *ḥadīth*. Abū Dāwūd cited it from the path of Layth b. Abī Sulaym from al-Ḥajjāj b. ʿUbayd from Ibrāhīm b. Ismāʿīl from Abū Hurayra. Layth b. Abī Sulaym is weak, and his teacher's teacher is unknown. Furthermore, others' transmissions differed with him over it.

This [discussion] is comprehensive of all that is in the book concerning *taʿliq*s attributed to the Prophet, both those in the form [implying] conclusiveness (*jazm*) and those in the form [implying] weakness (*tamriḍ*). Al-Nawawī has reported that the expert traditionists as well as others have agreed to give these two [forms] due consideration⁴³ but that it is not appropriate to take something which is weak as certain merely because the form requires its validity to the one to whom it was attributed. Therefore, it is not appropriate [to cite] anything weak in [the form implying] certainty, since it, as a form, requires that its attribution to the speaker (*al-muḍāf ilayhi*) be valid. He said:

Many authors, jurists, and others have ignored this [distinction]. Al-Bayhaqī (d. 458/1066) was severely critical of those who did not adhere to this [distinction between the two forms], for it is a woeful example of laxity on the part of the one who does it. [The one who does this] says [about the valid] "it is mentioned" and "it is narrated" and says [about] the weak "he said" and "he narrated." This [practice] leads to a reversal of meanings and a departure from correctness.

He also said:

Al-Bukhārī, may God have mercy upon him, was careful in his use of these two forms, and he gave them their proper judgment in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Thus, he says some of what he has to say in one title using a form [implying] weakness, and in another, using a form [implying] conclusiveness, keeping in mind that which we have mentioned. This makes one aware of his care and piety. Using this principle, his statement, "I have not included in *al-Jāmiʿ* [p. 30] *al-ṣaḥīḥ* anything which is not valid" should be taken to mean that for which I have cited its *isnād*, and God knows best.

It has already become clear from our detailed classification of his suspended reports, however, that there is no need for this interpretation. Everything which is in the book is valid meaning that it is all acceptable. Only rarely is there something in it which can be

⁴³ He means that they have agreed to cite valid material using *jazm* and weak material using *tamriḍ*.

rejected out of hand. This is the judgment [concerning] the reports attributed to the Prophet.

As for the **mawqūfs**, he uses the form [implying] certainty with those which are valid in his mind, although they may not meet his formal requirements of validity. He uses the form [implying] uncertainty, however, with reports in whose **isnād** there is weakness or interruption, except in those places where the report's weakness is strengthened by its existence by way of a different route or because of its fame from the one who transmitted it. He cites the legal opinions of the Companions and the Followers, as well as their opinions in many matters of exegesis of Qur'ānic verses, for the purpose of gaining comfort in them, and to strengthen his preferred opinion on those questions in which there are differences among the Imāms.

Therefore, it should be said that everything which is cited in the book is either that for which titles were written, or that by which titles were written.⁴⁴ The purpose of this work, essentially, is the valid *ḥadīths* which are **musnad**, and this is that for which he wrote titles. As for **mawqūfs**, **ta'liqs**, and, yes, verses from the Qur'ān, these are mentioned only secondarily. Thus, all of these are used to write the titles. When they are considered together, however, and when they are also considered in relation to the *ḥadīths*, they explain one another, some explaining (*mufasssir*) and others being explained (*mufassar*). Thus, under this consideration, some of these are also that for which he wrote titles. His primary purpose, however, is *ḥadīth*, so understand that, for it is a proper explanation by which many objections to the author's citation of this type of material can be explained, and God grants success.

APPENDIX I

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES FOUND IN THE TRANSLATION⁴⁵

- °Abd al-Haqq b. °Abd al-Raḥmān b. °Abd Allāh al-Ishbīlī, Abū Muḥammad: an Andalusian scholar of *ḥadīth*, he is commonly known as Ibn al-Kharrāt. His two most famous works, *al-Jam'* and *al-Ahkām* are still in manuscript form. *Al-A'lam*, 4:52; *Al-Siyar*, 21:198–202 [p. 180].
- °Abd al-Quddūs b. Ḥabīb al-Kilā'ī al-Shāmi al-Dimashqī, Abū Sa'īd: he is considered to be weak by all. *Lisān al-mīzān*, 1912 ed., 4:45–48 [p. 175].
- °Abd al-Raḥīm b. Aḥmad al-Harawī, Abū Dharr: a transmitter of *ḥadīth* and Mālikī jurist from Herat. He adopted the Mālikī school after meeting al-Bāqillānī in Baghdad. *Nafḥ al-ṭib*, 2:70–71; *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, 3:1103–8 [p. 172].
- °Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālīd b. Musāfir: he was a student of al-Zuhri and acquired a book from him which, according to Ibn Ma'in, contained two to three hundred of his *ḥadīths*. While in Egypt, al-Layth b. Sa'd transmitted these *ḥadīths*. *Tahdhib al-tahdhib*, 6:165–66 [p. 175].

⁴⁴ The text says "mimmā tarjama lahu aw mimmā tarjama lahu." I have read it as "mimmā turjima lahu aw mimmā turjima bihi."

⁴⁵ The following are the works used in preparing this appendix:

Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lam al-nubalā'*, 25 vols. (Beirut, 1982–85).

Al-Dhahabī, ed. °Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yaḥyā al-Mu' al-

limī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, 4 vols. (Hyderabad, 1388/1968).

Ibn °Imād al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, 8 vols. (Cairo, 1931).

Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *Al-A'lam*, 11 vols., 3d ed. (Beirut, 1969).

al-Maqarri, ed. Iḥsān °Abbās, *Nafḥ al-ṭib*, 8 vols. (Beirut, 1968).

- Abū Dāwūd, Sulaymān b. al-Ash^ʿath: he compiled one of the six authoritative *ḥadīth* collections. *Al-A^ʿlām*, 3:182 [p. 177].
- Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal: he was the eponym of the Hanbali legal school who became famous by enduring persecution for his refusal to adopt the Mu^ʿtazilite position on the createdness of the Qur^ʾān. *Al-A^ʿlām*, 1:192–93 [p. 171].
- Al-^ʿAlā^ʿ b. ^ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ya^ʿqūb al-Ḥuraqī al-Madanī Abū Shibl: al-Wāqidī reported that his book (*ṣaḥīfa*) was famous in Madīna. *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 8:186–87 [p. 178].
- A^ʿmash, Sulaymān b. Mihrān, al-Kūfī, al-Asadī *bi-al-walā^ʿ*, Abū Muḥammad: he was an important ^ʿIrāqī scholar of the Followers. *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 4:222:62 [p. 176].
- Asad b. Mūsā b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Walid b. ^ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān al-Umawī: he was known as *Asad al-sunna*. Al-Nasā^ʿī considered him a *thiqa* (reliable source), although he was not impressed by his writings (*wa law lam yuṣannif kāna khayran lahu*). *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 1:260 [p. 171].
- Al-Awzā^ʿī, ^ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ^ʿAmr, Abū ^ʿAmr: he was the Imām of Syria and the eponym of the Awzā^ʿī legal school, which did not survive. *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 6:238–42 [p. 171].
- Al-Bayhaqī, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Shāfi^ʿī, Abū Bakr: he wrote several famous works on *ḥadīth* and Shāfi^ʿite *fiqh*. *Al-A^ʿlām*, 1:13 [p. 189].
- Al-Bulqaynī, Sirāj al-Dīn ^ʿUmar b. Raslān al-Shāfi^ʿī, Abū Ḥafṣ: he wrote *Maḥāsīn al-iṣṭilāḥ*, a commentary on *Muqaddimat Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ*, a work on the science of *ḥadīth*. It has been printed along with *al-Muqaddima*, ed. Bint al-Shāṭi^ʿ (Cairo, 1989). *Al-A^ʿlām*, 5:205 [p. 169].
- Al-Dāraquṭnī, ^ʿAlī b. ^ʿUmar b. Aḥmad Abū al-Ḥasan: he was the leading collector of *ḥadīth* of his generation and wrote several surviving works on the science of *ḥadīth* as well as his own compilation, *Sunan al-Dāraquṭnī*, which has been published. *Al-A^ʿlām*, 5:130 [p. 169].
- Al-Ḥakam b. ^ʿAbd Allāh b. Sa^ʿd al-Aylī, Abū ^ʿAbd Allāh: Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal claimed that all of his *ḥadīths* were forged (*mawdu^ʿa*). *Lisān al-mizān*, 2:332–34 [p. 175].
- Al-Ḥākim Muḥammad b. ^ʿAbd Allāh al-Naysābūrī, Abū ^ʿAbd Allāh: one of the most famous scholars and compilers of *ḥadīth*. He wrote works on the science of *ḥadīth* and *al-Mustadrak ^ʿalā al-ṣaḥīḥayn*, in which he claims to have included *ḥadīths* valid according to the conditions of Muslim and al-Bukhārī but which they ignored. *Al-A^ʿlām*, 7:101 [p. 174].
- Ḥammād b. Salama b. Dīnār al-Baṣrī al-Taymī *bi-al-walā^ʿ*. Known as Abū Salama, he was generally considered to be a reliable transmitter of *ḥadīths* and was also well known for his asceticism. *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 3:11–16 [p. 171].
- Al-Hasan b. ^ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥalwānī, al-Hudhalī, Abū ^ʿAlī: all the authors of the six valid collections narrated *ḥadīths* from him except al-Nasā^ʿī. His position on whether the person who maintains that the Qur^ʾān was created is an unbeliever or not was a source of some controversy. *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 2:302–4 [p. 177].

Ibn Hajar al-^ʿAsqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 12 vols. (Beirut, 1968).

Ibn Hajar al-^ʿAsqalānī, *Lisān al-mizān*, 6 vols. (Hyderabad, 1329/1911).

Ibn Khallikān, ed. Iḥsān ^ʿAbbās, *Wafayāt al-a^ʿyān*, 8 vols. (Beirut, 1968).

Muḥammad b. Ja^ʿfar al-Kattānī, *Al-Risāla al-mus-*

taṭrafa, 3d ed. (Damascus, 1383/1964).

Please note that the page numbers in brackets at the end of entries in this section refer the reader to the first instance in the translation where the name appears.

- Al-Ḥāzimī, Muḥammad b. Abī ʿUthmān Mūsā b. ʿUthmān, al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū Bakr Zayn al-Dīn: he wrote a number of works on the science of *ḥadīth*, including *Kitāb al-iʿtibār fī al-nāsikh wa al-mansūkh min al-akhbār* and *Shurūṭ al-aʿimma al-khamsa*, both of which have been published. *Al-Aʿlām*, 7:339; *Al-Risāla al-mustaṭrafa*, 80 [p. 175].
- Al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Tamīmī al-Naysābūrī, Al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū Aḥmad: he was known as Ḥusaynak and was a close companion of Ibn Khuzayma (see below), who used to represent him at the *majlis al-sulṭān* whenever Ibn Khuzayma could not attend. *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, 3:968–69 [p. 178].
- Al-Husayn b. ʿAlī b. Yazīd, Abū ʿAlī: he was a famous *ḥadīth* scholar and was the teacher of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī. *Al-Aʿlām*, 2:266; *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, 3:902–5 [p. 176].
- Ibn Abī Shayba, ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad (Abū Shayba) b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿUthmān b. Khustī al-Kūfī al-ʿAbsī *bi-al-walāʾ*, Abū al-Ḥasan: in addition to his **musnad**, he also compiled a commentary on the Qurʾān. *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 7:149–51 [p. 171].
- Ibn Abī Shayba, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad (Abū Shayba) b. Ibrāhīm, Abū Bakr: he is known as Abū Bakr Ibn Abī Shayba, author of the *Muṣannaḥ Ibn Abī Shayba* (which has been published and is the subject of the Ph.D. dissertation of Harald Motzki of the University of Hamburg). He is the brother of ʿUthmān b. Abī Shayba. *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 6:2–4 [p. 171].
- Ibn Ḥazm, ʿAlī b. Aḥmad, Abū Muḥammad: he is the famous Spanish Zāhirite jurist who wrote extensively in many scholarly fields. *Al-Aʿlām*, 5:59 [p. 180].
- Ibn Jurayj, ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Jurayj al-Umawī *bi-al-walāʾ*: Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal mentions him with Saʿīd b. Abī ʿArūba as among the first to compose (*ṣannaḥa*) books. In addition to being a transmitter of *ḥadīth*, he was also a prominent Ḥijāzī jurist. *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 6:402–6 [p. 171].
- Ibn Khuzayma, Muḥammad b. Ishāq, Abū Bakr: a jurist and transmitter of *ḥadīth*; it is reported that he wrote over 140 books. He was nicknamed the “imām of imāms” (*imām al-aʿimma*) by al-Subkī. He compiled a collection of valid *ḥadīths* known as *Ṣaḥīḥ ibn Khuzayma*. *Al-Aʿlām*, 6:253 [p. 177].
- Ibn al-Munayyir, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Mansūr: an Alexandrian scholar and man of letters. *Al-Aʿlām*, 1:212 [p. 183].
- Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān, Abū ʿAmr: he is known as Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ and is author of the famous *Muqaddima fī ʿulūm al-ḥadīth* on the science of tradition. *Al-Aʿlām*, 4:369 [p. 176].
- Ibrāhīm b. Maʿqil al-Nasafī, Abū Ishāq: he was a transmitter of *ḥadīth* and served as the judge of Nasaf. He also composed a *musnad* and a *tafsīr*. *Al-Aʿlām*, 1:70 [p. 172].
- ʿIkrima b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Barbarī: he was the client (*mawlā*) of Abū al-ʿAbbās ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās. ʿIkrima was well known as an exegete (*mufasssīr*) and was accused of having Khārījī sympathies. *Al-Aʿlām*, 5:43–44. Ibn ʿAbbās was one of the most prominent younger companions and became prominent in both exegesis (*tafsīr*) and law (*fiqh*). *Al-Aʿlām*, 4:228–29 [p. 178].
- Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Makhhlad b. Ibrāhīm b. Maṭar al-Ḥanzalī, Abū Yaʿqūb: he was known as Ibn Rāhawayhi; he settled in Naysābūr and is considered to be one of the Imāms. *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 1:216–19 [p. 171].
- Ishāq b. Yaḥyā b. ʿAlqama: he was known as al-ʿAwṣī. He transmitted *ḥadīths* from al-Zuhri. The only student to transmit his material was Yaḥyā b. Ṣāliḥ. *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 1:255–56 [p. 175].

- Al-Ismāʿīlī, Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Mihrān, Abū Bakr: a scholar of *ḥadīth* from Naysābūr who collected the *ḥadīths* of Mālik, al-Zuhri, Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, ʿAbd Allāh b. Dīnār, and Mūsā b. ʿUqba. *Al-Aʿlām*, 6:259 [p. 172].
- ʿIyād b. Mūsā, al-Qāḍī Abū al-Faḍl: he was a Mālikī jurist who wrote extensively on *ḥadīth*. He also wrote *Tartīb al-madārik*, a work on the history of the Mālikī school. *Al-Aʿlām*, 5:282 [p. 180].
- Jaʿfar b. Burqān al-Kilābī al-Jazarī al-Raqqī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh: *ḥadīth* critics considered him to be reliable except in his transmissions from al-Zuhri. *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 2:84–86 [p. 175].
- Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh: he was one of the younger companions of the Prophet who is reported to have lived well into the Umayyad period. *Al-Aʿlām*, 2:92 [p. 178].
- Khalaf b. Muḥammad al-Bukhārī: *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, 16:70 [p. 172].
- Al-Khalilī, Khalīl b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Khalīl al-Qazwīnī, Abū Yaʿlā: he was a judge and a scholar of *ḥadīth* and wrote *al-Irshād fi ʿulamāʾ al-bilād*, to which Ibn Ḥajar referred in the text. *Al-Aʿlām*, 2:368 [p. 178].
- Al-Khāṭib al-Baghdādī, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ʿAlī: he is the author of *Tarīkh Baghdād*, as well as numerous other works on the science of *ḥadīth*. *Al-Aʿlām*, 1:166 [p. 171].
- Al-Kushmihānī, Muḥammad b. Makkī al-Marwazī, Abū al-Haytham: he was a transmitter of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*. *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, 3:132 [p. 172].
- Al-Layth b. Saʿīd: he was the Imām of Egypt and a student of Mālik. His famous letter to Mālik is preserved in al-Qāḍī ʿIyād's *Tartīb al-madārik*. *Al-Aʿlām*, 6:115.
- Mālik b. Anas: he is the eponym of the Mālikī school of jurisprudence and the famous Imām of Madīna. *Al-Aʿlām*, 6:128 [p. 171].
- Maslama b. al-Qāsim: he was an Andalusian historian and transmitter of *ḥadīth* from Qurtuba who traveled extensively in the East and wrote works on the science of transmitters (*ʿilm al-rijāl*). *Al-Aʿlām*, 8:122 [p. 180].
- Al-Mizzī, Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Abū al-Ḥajjāj: he wrote many works on the science of transmitters, the most famous of which is *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*. *Al-Aʿlām*, 9:313 [p. 171].
- Muʿāwiya b. Yaḥyā al-Ṣadaḥī al-Dimashqī, Abū Rawḥ: he served as the treasurer of al-Rayy in the days of al-Mahdī. He was not considered to be a very reliable transmitter and was accused of buying books and then “transmitting” them. The date of his death is not known. *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 10:219–20 [p. 175].
- Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān: he was known as Ibn Abī Dhiʿb, a famous scholar of the Medinese from the generation of the Followers. *Al-Aʿlām*, 7:61 [p. 175].
- Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, Abū al-Faṭḥ: he is known as Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd. He was a famous Egyptian transmitter of *ḥadīth* and jurist, who wrote extensively on legal *ḥadīths*. *Al-Aʿlām*, 7:173–74 [p. 182].
- Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Malik Abū Bakr: he is known as Ibn Abī Jamra. He was a Spanish Mālikī jurist. His abridgment of al-Bukhārī has been published. *Al-Aʿlām*, 6:213 [p. 180].
- Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Tadrus, Abū al-Zubayr: it is reported that al-Layth b. Saʿīd obtained two books from Abū al-Zubayr containing *ḥadīths* of Jābir. Although controversial, he is considered reliable; many of his students were considered unreliable, however. *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 9:440–43 [p. 178].
- Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Maṣlūb: charged with heresy (*zandaqa*), he was executed by al-Mansūr. *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 9:184–86 [p. 175].
- Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Fāris: *Al-Siyar*, 14:388 [p. 172].

- Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad: he was a Maghribī traveler who wrote a famous account of his trip to the Ḥijāz. *Al-Aʿlām*, 7:205 [p. 183].
- Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Dhuhālī al-Naysāburī, Al-Ḥafīz Abū ʿAbd Allāh: he was a very respected scholar of *ḥadīth* from Naysābūr. *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 9:511–16 [p. 178].
- Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Maṭar al-Farabrī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh: al-Kushmīhanī transmitted al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* from al-Farabrī. *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, 2:286 [p. 172].
- Musaddad b. Musarhad b. Musarbal al-Baṣrī al-Asadī, Abū al-Ḥasan: he was considered one of the most reliable transmitters of *ḥadīth* of his generation in Baṣra. *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 10:107–9 [p. 171].
- Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Qushayrī, Abū al-Ḥusayn: he compiled the famous collection of *ḥadīths* known as *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, which is second in validity only to al-Bukhārī's collection. *Al-Aʿlām*, 8:117–18 [p. 171].
- Al-Muthannā b. al-Ṣabāḥ al-Yamani al-Abnāwī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh: he was a descendant of the Persian *abnāʾ* who had settled in Yaman in pre-Islamic times. *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 10:35–37 [p. 175].
- Nāfiʿ: he was the *mawlā* of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, one of the prominent younger Companions. *Al-Aʿlām*, 8:319 [p. 176].
- Al-Nasāʾī, Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Shuʿayb Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān: he compiled one of the six authoritative collections of Prophetic *ḥadīths*. *Al-Aʿlām*, 1:164 [p. 177].
- Al-Nawawī, Muḥyi al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Sharaf al-Shāfiʿī, Abū Zakariyyā: he compiled many famous collections of *ḥadīths*, e.g., *Riyāḍ al-ṣāliḥīn*, as well as works on the science of *ḥadīth* and Shāfiʿī *fiqh*. *Al-Aʿlām*, 9:184–85 [p. 169].
- Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād b. Muʿāwiya b. al-Ḥārith b. Humām b. Salama b. Mālik al-Khuzāʿī al-Marwazī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh: he was considered to be a reliable transmitter and compiled books on the teachings of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī and Abū Ḥanīfa as well as works replying to the *Jahmiyya*. *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 10:458–63 [p. 171].
- Qatāda b. Diʿāma al-Sadūsī al-Baṣrī, Abū al-Khaṭṭāb: he was a leading transmitter of *ḥadīth* and jurist among the Followers in Baṣra. *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 8:351–56 [p. 176].
- Al-Qaysarānī, Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Maqdisī: he was a famous sixth-century *ḥafīz* who composed many works on the science of *ḥadīth*. He died in Baghdad. *Al-Aʿlām*, 7:41; *al-Risāla al-mustaṭrafa*, 123 [p. 174].
- Al-Rabīʿ b. Ṣabīḥ al-Saʿdī al-Baṣrī, Abū Bakr: he was a *mawlā* Saʿd b. Zayd Manāt, who, despite his reputation for piety, made errors in his transmissions. *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 3:247–48 [p. 171].
- Saʿīd b. Abī ʿArūba Mihrān al-ʿAdwī al-Baṣrī, Abū al-Naḍr: he was a *mawlā* of Banī ʿAdī b. Yashkur. He was a *qadarī*, although not a propagator of their doctrine. His transmissions are generally considered reliable (those made before the onset of senility, ca. 143). *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 4:63–66 [p. 171].
- Al-Shāfiʿī, Muḥammad b. Idrīs: he is the eponym of the Shāfiʿite legal school who wrote the oldest surviving work on Islamic legal theory (*uṣūl al-fiqh*), *al-Risāla*. *Al-Aʿlām*, 6:249–50 [p. 176].
- Shuʿayb b. Abī Ḥamza Dīnār al-Umawī, al-Ḥimṣī, Abū Bishr: he was a scribe of al-Zuhri and was considered one of his most reliable transmitters. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal was reported to have seen his books and praised them for their precision. *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 4:351–52 [p. 175].

- Sufyān b. ʿUyayna: a famous transmitter of *ḥadīth* in Makka during the second century. *Al-Aʿlām*, 3:159 [p. 175].
- Sufyān b. Ḥusayn al-Wāsiṭī, Abū Muḥammad: he was considered reliable except in his transmissions from al-Zuhri. He died during the reign of either Hārūn al-Rashid or al-Mahdi. *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 4:107–9 [p. 175].
- Suhayl b. Abī Šāliḥ: he was generally considered reliable, although al-Bukhārī cited his material only if it was accompanied by another *ḥadīth*. *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 4:263–64 [p. 178].
- Sulaymān b. Khalaf al-Bajī, Abū al-Walid: he was a Mālikī legal scholar who wrote many works on legal theory, positive law, as well as a commentary on the *Muwaṭṭaʿ*. *Al-Aʿlām*, 3:186 [p. 173].
- Al-Ṭayālīsī, Sulaymān b. Dāwūd, Abū Dāwūd: he was one of the earliest collectors of *ḥadīth* to compile a **musnad**. *Al-Aʿlām*, 3:187 [p. 187].
- Thābit b. Aslam al-Bunānī al-Baṣrī, Abū Muḥammad: he was one of the Followers and transmitted many *ḥadīths* from the Companion Anas b. Mālik. He was also a storyteller (*qāṣṣ*). *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 2:2–4 [p. 179].
- Al-Thawrī, Sufyān b. Saʿīd b. Masrūq al-Kūfī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh: many of the *ḥadīth* critics gave him the nickname “Commander of the Faithful in *ḥadīth*.” *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 4:111–15 [p. 171].
- Al-Tirmidhī, Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā: he compiled one of the six authoritative collections of Prophetic *ḥadīths*. *Al-Aʿlām*, 7:213 [p. 189].
- ʿUbayd Allāh b. Mūsā b. Abī al-Mukhtār al-Kūfī al-ʿAbsī *bi-al-walāʾ*, Abū Muḥammad: he is considered reliable by many, although his *Shīʿī* sympathies caused some critics to consider him unreliable. *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 7:50–53 [p. 171].
- ʿUqayl b. Khālīd b. ʿAqīl al-Ayli al-Umawī, *mawlā* ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān: he was reported to be the most reliable transmitter of al-Zuhri after Mālik. *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 7:255–56 [p. 175].
- Al-ʿUqaylī, Muḥammad b. ʿAmr, Abū Jaʿfar: he is the author of *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ al-kabīr*, ed. ʿAbd al-Muʿṭī Aṣṣayyid al-Qalʿajī (Beirut, 1984). *Al-Aʿlām*, 7:210 [p. 172].
- Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd b. Qays al-Anṣārī, Abū Saʿīd: he was an important source for Mālik in his *Muwaṭṭaʿ*, as well as having served as a judge. *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 11:221–24 [p. 176].
- Yūnus b. Yazīd b. Abī al-Nijād al-Ayli, *mawlā* Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān, Abū Yazīd: he became well known as a student of al-Zuhri, although he was accused of having transmitted some unknown material (*manākīr*) attributed to al-Zuhri. *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 11:450–52 [p. 175].
- Zamʿa b. Šāliḥ al-Jundī al-Yamanī: he is considered an unreliable transmitter, especially in connection with his al-Zuhri material. His date of death is not known. *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 3:338–39 [p. 175].
- Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. Saʿīd al-Kindī, Tāj al-Dīn, Abū al-Yumn: he was known as *musnid al-shām*. *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, 2:339–42; *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, 4:1402. *Al-Aʿlām*, 3:96–97 [p. 171].
- Al-Zuhri, Muḥammad b. Muslim b. ʿUbayd Allāh Ibn Shihāb: he was a famous transmitter of *ḥadīths* about the Followers and one of their leading scholars. *Al-Aʿlām*, 7:317 [p. 175].

APPENDIX II

TECHNICAL TERMS⁴⁶

²*a-la-fa, kha-la-fa*

Al-mu²talifa and **al-mukhtalifa** are two terms denoting names which appear to be the same in writing but are pronounced differently, for example, *bishr* and *busr*. *Muq.*, 590.

ja-ma-^ca

Jāmi^c (pl. **jawāmi^c**) is a collection of *ḥadīth*s arranged topically and includes all religious topics of relevance to a Muslim, not just legal points, for example, Bukhārī's *Al-Jāmi^c al-ṣaḥīḥ*.

ja-za-²a

Juz² (pl. **ajzā²**) is a small collection of *ḥadīth*s either on one topic or from one narrator.

ḥa-fa-za

Ḥāfiẓ is a title which denotes, in the context of *ḥadīth* studies, a scholar who has devoted himself to the study of traditions, i.e., a *ḥadīth* specialist.

kha-ra-ja

Mustakhraj denotes a special type of *ḥadīth* collection in which a collector of *ḥadīth* compiles the same texts of a previous work but cites them with **isnāds** to himself, using a path other than the original path used by the original compiler of the work, for example, al-Ḥumaydī's *Al-Jam^c bayna al-ṣaḥīḥayn*.

da-la-sa

Tadlis is a term denoting: (1) either a reporter's transmission of a report from a teacher whom he has met without his having actually heard that text from the teacher or (2) the transmitter's use of a name for his teacher other than the one by which he is commonly known. The reporter who does this is called a **mudallis**. Transmitters of *ḥadīth* accept the reports of a **mudallis** but in cases where he uses a form requiring that he heard it from the teacher, for example, "fulān told me"; if the **mudallis** were to say "from fulān," however, it would not be taken to mean that he had heard the text from the teacher. *Muq.* 230–36.

ra-sa-la

Mursal is a *ḥadīth* text in which a Follower omits the name of the Companion who transmitted the *ḥadīth* from the Prophet, according to the usage of the *ḥadīth* specialists. Jurists (*fuqahā²*) and legal theorists (*uṣūliyyūn*) use this term to denote any *ḥadīth* text in which someone other than a Companion says: "The Messenger of God (S) said:" *Muq.*, 202–12.

⁴⁶ For an introduction to the different genres of *ḥadīth* works, see Maḥmūd al-Ṭaḥḥān, *Uṣūl al-takh-*

rij wa dirāsāt al-asānīd (Aleppo, 1978). *Muq.* refers to *Muqadimmat Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ*.

ra-fa-^{ca}

Marfū^c is a report which is attributed, literally “raised,” to the Prophet.

sa-na-da

Musnad when used for a *ḥadīth* collection means a collection of *ḥadīths* arranged according to the Companion who transmitted the report from the Prophet, for example, *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal or the *Musnad* of al-Ṭayālīsī [p. 5].

Musnad when used to describe a *ḥadīth* text denotes a text which was transmitted directly, from transmitter to transmitter, without any interruptions. The term **mutṭaṣil** is synonymous. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, however, reports that the term **musnad** is at times used by some *ḥadīth* critics to refer to any text attributed to the Prophet, even if there is an interruption in its **isnād**. He, however, considers the two terms synonymous. I have treated them synonymously in the translation and have rendered them as “connected” *Muq.*, 190–92.

Isnād refers to the documentation of the *ḥadīth* text’s transmission history. This usually precedes all *ḥadīth* texts, for example, “Mālik told me on the authority of Nāfi^c on the authority of Ibn ‘Umar that the Prophet said. . . .”

‘a-la-qa

Ta‘liq, Mu‘allaq is a term denoting a *ḥadīth* text in which one or more narrators have been omitted from the beginning of the **isnād**, *Muq.*, 167, 226–28. It literally means “to suspend.” **Ta‘liq** describes the act of “suspending” a text without proper attribution, while **mu‘allaq** describes the text itself.

‘a-na-‘a-na

‘An‘ana is a term used to describe the transmitter’s statement in the *ḥadīth*’s **isnād**, “So and so from, i.e., ‘an, So-and-so.” It is controversial because the student does not mention how he acquired the text from the teacher. *Muq.*, 220–26. One who practices **‘an‘ana** is called the **mu‘an‘in**, whereas the **mu‘an‘an ‘anhu** is the source of the text.

qa-ṭa-‘a

Taqṭi^c is a technical term which Ibn Ḥajar defines as separating a *ḥadīth*’s text into several parts, each of which expresses a different idea or theme.

Munqaṭi^c is a *ḥadīth* text in whose **isnād** there is an interruption, meaning that within the **isnād** there is a transmitter who did not hear the report from the transmitter above him in the **isnād** and that the name omitted between the two is not mentioned. This also includes those **isnāds** which include an ambiguous reference, such as *shaykh* or “man.” *Muq.*, 213–15.

ma-ta-na

Matn is the text, the “content” of the *ḥadīth* report.

wa-qa-fa

Mawqūf is a report which is “stopped” at a Companion, although it can also be used to describe reports of the Followers. *Muq.*, 194–95.

THE FLOOD HERO AS KING AND PRIEST*

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I. INTRODUCTION

THE question addressed in this article is the royal or nonroyal status of the hero of the Mesopotamian Flood story. Frequently it is assumed that he was a king in all the Mesopotamian traditions.¹ It has not often been clearly noted, however, that the Mesopotamian material itself is not consistent in connecting the antediluvian kings to the Flood. J. J. Finkelstein has pointed out that the Flood hero is omitted once from the list of pre-Flood kings (which we may call, for the sake of simplicity, the Primeval King List, hereafter the PKL), and his royal status is by no means clear in the Atrahasis and Gilgamesh epics. But Ziusudra is certainly a king in the Sumerian Flood story, and Ziusudra/Utanapištim is the king of Šuruppak in some recensions of the literary composition the Instructions of Šuruppak, known from Sumerian and Middle Assyrian fragments. These facts have led Finkelstein to conclude: "There appear therefore to be sufficient grounds for positing the existence of two early views regarding Ziusudra, one regarding him as a king—the last ruler in the antediluvian succession—and another which did not conceive of him as a king. It is the former tradition which, perhaps as early as the later part of the 1st Babylonian Dynasty, appears to have become the dominant one."²

This issue is relevant for the biblical primeval history since it has been suggested frequently that the genealogies in Genesis 4–5 (which are probably variants of an older list) were influenced by the Mesopotamian lists of antediluvian kings and/or *apkallu* sages. It has been advanced that the list of kings before the Flood, culminating in the Flood hero, served as a structural substratum of sorts to the genealogy of Genesis 5 in the Priestly source. The kings have become patriarchs, but their life spans are still abnormally long,

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Most of the abbreviations used here are found in the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*, vol. S, pp. vii–

xxiv and the *Society of Biblical Literature Membership Directory and Handbook* (Decatur, Georgia, 1992), pp. 212–26.

¹ See, for example, W. G. Lambert, "A New Look at the Babylonian Background of Genesis," *JTS* 16 (1965): 287–300, esp. 292–93. Lambert-Millard, *Atrahasis*, pp. 20–21; Anne Draffkorn Kilmer, "The Mesopotamian Counterparts of the Biblical Nēpīlīm," in Edgar W. Conrad and Edward G. Newing, eds., *Perspectives on Language and Text: Essays and Poems in Honor of Francis I. Andersen's Sixtieth Birthday* (Winona Lake, Indiana, 1987), p. 41.

² J. J. Finkelstein, "The Antediluvian Kings: A University of California Tablet," *JCS* 17 (1963): 39–51, quote on p. 49. Cf. A. Heidel's comments on the Gilgamesh epic in *The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels*, 2d ed. (Chicago and London, 1949), p. 228.

and the seven to ten members of the Mesopotamian lists correspond to the ten patriarchs in P.³ Gerhard F. Hasel and Claus Westermann have each strongly questioned this view, and Thomas C. Hartman has suggested that Genesis 5 is more closely connected with early Amorite genealogies.⁴ Thorkild Jacobsen carries this idea of Mesopotamian dependence further, suggesting that the tripartite structure of the Sumerian Flood account, with its account of the creation of human beings and animals, a list of leading figures following creation, and then the story of the Flood, served as a model for the Priestly writer's primeval history.⁵

The traditions of the seven *apkallus* have been viewed as a background to the genealogy of the Cainites in Genesis 4.⁶ These fish-sages, who lived before the Flood, were known for their wisdom. The Chaldean priest Berossus reports that their founder, Oannes/Adapa, revealed the basics of civilization to the human race, and his six successors explained these things in detail to later antediluvian kings.⁷ A different, older viewpoint espoused by Gerhard von Rad is that Genesis 4 is an etiological story of the Kenites. In this case, the genealogy would be a tribal one. This suggestion has been challenged by Robert R. Wilson, who points out that tribal genealogies were normally segmented, not linear.⁸

In this article, I reexamine all the Mesopotamian and biblical traditions concerning the Flood in order to extricate the royal and nonroyal strands of the story and to see how this information affects our understanding of the biblical primeval history. I discuss each Mesopotamian Flood tradition in roughly chronological order (including the information given about the Flood hero in the Instructions of Šuruppak), then analyze the biblical Flood stories of J and P with reference to the Mesopotamian material.

³ J. Skinner, *Genesis*, 2d ed. (Edinburgh, 1930), pp. 137–39; E. A. Speiser, *Genesis* (Garden City, New York, 1964), pp. 41–43; Lambert, “Babylonian Background,” pp. 292–93, 298–99; Gerhard von Rad, *Genesis: A Commentary*, rev. ed. (Philadelphia, 1972), p. 71; R. R. Wilson, *Genealogy and History in the Biblical World* (New Haven and London, 1977), p. 166.

The issue of Pentateuchal sources is a particularly thorny one about which there is no consensus among biblical scholars at present. The position accepted in this article is that two sources, the traditional J and P, can be isolated in the primeval history (Genesis 1–11). I take J to be a work of the First Temple period and P, in its final form, to be exilic or postexilic. For a recent reconstruction that is quite different, see J. Blenkinsopp, *The Pentateuch: An Introduction to the First Five Books of the Bible* (New York, 1992).

⁴ G. F. Hasel, “The Genealogies of Gen 5 and 11 and Their Alleged Babylonian Background,” *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 16 (1978): 361–74; C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11: A Commentary* (Minneapolis, 1984), pp. 348–52; T. C. Hartman, “Some Thoughts on the Sumerian King List and Genesis 5 and 11B,” *JBL* 91 (1972): 25–32.

⁵ T. Jacobsen, “The Eridu Genesis,” *JBL* 100 (1981): 513–29, esp. 527–29.

⁶ Finkelstein, “Antediluvian Kings,” p. 50, n. 41; W. W. Hallo, “Antediluvian Cities,” *JCS* 23 (1969): 63; Westermann, *Genesis*, p. 325; Wilson, *Genealogy*, pp. 149–54, 166. Kilmer sees the *apkallus* as parallel to the Nephilim in “Mesopotamian Counterparts,” pp. 39–43. Contrast R. S. Hendel, “Of Demigods and the Deluge: Toward an Interpretation of Genesis 6:1–4,” *JBL* 106 (1987): 13–26. J. C. Greenfield argues that there is an allusion to the seven *apkallus* in Prov. 9:1 (“The Seven Pillars of Wisdom [PROV 9:1]—A Mistranslation,” *JQR* 76 [1985]: 13–20).

⁷ For Berossus, see *FrGH* III C, frag. 680, pp. 369–30; frag. 680, pp. 375–76; frag. 685, p. 400; Stanley Mayer Burstein, *The “Babyloniaca” of Berossus* (Milibu, 1978), pp. 13–14, 18–19. A Seleucid text (W 20030, 7) listing substantially the same *apkallus*, as well as postdiluvian ones, was published by J. van Dijk in “Die Inschriftenfunde (Tafel 20; 27–28),” *UVB* (Berlin, 1962), pp. 44–52, pl. 27. E. Reiner has published a very different list of *apkallus* in “The Etiological Myth of the Seven Sages,” *Or.*, n.s., 30 (1961): 1–11. Wilson suggests that the missing beginning of this text included the seven antediluvian *apkallus* (*Genealogy*, p. 150).

⁸ Von Rad, *Genesis*, pp. 107–12; Wilson, *Genealogy*, p. 158.

II. MESOPOTAMIAN TRADITIONS

The Primeval King List

It has been demonstrated by Jacobsen that the PKL was not originally part of the Sumerian King List (hereafter SKL).⁹ Some of the manuscripts of the SKL omit this section; others are broken at this point but must be reconstructed to have contained it. Only WB 444 (following the sigla of Jacobsen), an Old Babylonian manuscript, probably from Larsa,¹⁰ has the PKL preserved intact. Stylistic differences between the PKL in this manuscript and the rest of the list confirm that it is a later addition. Three other manuscripts of the list are preserved, although one is very fragmentary. The latter, Ni. 3195, is an Old Babylonian fragment from Nippur published only in transliteration by F. R. Kraus.¹¹ UCBC 9-1819 is an Old Babylonian tablet, possibly from the Larsa area.¹² The last exemplar, WB 62, is of an earlier date than the rest, perhaps 2000 B.C.E., and was purchased in Baghdad for the Ashmolean Museum.¹³ Both WB 62 and UCBC 9-1819 are independent copies of the PKL, which have no connection to the SKL. The same is probably true of Ni. 3195, but it is too badly damaged for certainty.¹⁴ These four manuscripts are our main sources for the PKL.¹⁵

WB 444 lists five cities in the order Eridu, Bad-Tibira, Larak, Sippar, and Šuruppak. These appear to be the original names and ordering of the cities, since no variation from this list ever appears in more than one witness. The order and number of the antediluvian kings are also somewhat fluid, and, for the most part, do not concern us here. We need only note that WB 62 ends the list with Šuruppak,¹⁶ son of Ubar-Tutu (the latter is not counted as one of the kings), and his son Ziusudra; UCBC 9-1819 almost certainly included Ziusudra as Ubar-Tutu's son, although the line in question is destroyed;¹⁷ and WB 444 has Ubar-Tutu but omits Ziusudra from the list. Ni. 3195 is also destroyed at this point.

In short, we can with reasonable confidence reconstruct the PKL as a list of eight or nine kings of five cities. The Flood hero Ziusudra ends the list in WB 62 and probably UCBC 9-1819, but he is omitted in WB 444. This omission may indicate that the PKL was not originally connected with the Flood story.¹⁸

⁹ SKL, pp. 55-68. Cf. W. W. Hallo, "Beginning and End of the Sumerian King List in the Nippur Recension," *JCS* 17 (1963): 52-57. For this section, I refer the reader to the charts and discussions found in Finkelstein, "Antediluvian Kings," pp. 44-49; Wilson, *Genealogy*, pp. 79-80.

¹⁰ Or possibly Kish; see SKL, p. 5, n. 1a.

¹¹ F. R. Kraus, "Zur Liste der ältern Könige von Babylonien," *ZA* 50 (1952): 29-60, esp. 31-33.

¹² Finkelstein, "Antediluvian Kings," p. 39.

¹³ S. Langdon, "The Chaldean Kings before the Flood," *JRAS* (1923): 251-59. Substantial progress was made in deciphering this manuscript by H. Zimmern ("Die altbabylonischen vor- [und nach-] sintflutlichen Könige nach neuen Quellen," *ZDMG* 78 [1924]: 19-35). See also Jacobsen's comments on the text in SKL, pp. 58, 70-77.

¹⁴ Kraus, "Zur Liste der ältern Könige," p. 31.

¹⁵ For other Mesopotamian textual material relat-

ing to the PKL, see Lambert-Millard, *Atra-ḫasis*, pp. 25-28 and the bibliography cited there. I consider the evidence of Berossus and the Dynastic Chronicle in another section below.

¹⁶ The name (King) "Šuruppak" stems from an ancient misunderstanding in which the city was interpreted as a member of the dynasty. This misinterpretation goes back to the Pre-Sargonic period (see below under the Instructions of Šuruppak).

¹⁷ See Finkelstein, "Antediluvian Kings," p. 43.

¹⁸ The omission of Ubar-Tutu and Ziusudra in W 20030 7, the late list of antediluvian and postdiluvian *apkallu* sages which parallels a list of contemporary kings, may or may not be significant. No names of cities are mentioned, but the two kings of Eridu appear first, then Ammeluanna and Ammelgalanna, both of whom appear under Bad-Tibira in manuscripts of the PKL. Next comes E[*nm*]jeušumgalanna, who is not named elsewhere in the PKL. In sixth place is Dumuzi, another

The Instructions of Šuruppak

Our earliest evidence for any member of the Šuruppak dynasty of the PKL is found in the Pre-Sargonic copies of the Sumerian document known as the Instructions of Šuruppak. In it, King Šuruppak admonishes his son with a long list of proverbs. The exemplar from Abū Šalābīkh (ca. 2500 B.C.E.) refers to Šuruppak as šuruppak ūr.AŠ twice, although, in both cases, the second complex of signs is damaged.¹⁹ A similar reading, šuruppak^{ki} ūr.AŠ, is found in the Adab text (ca. 2400 B.C.E.) at least three times and probably seven or more.²⁰ The meaning of the second word is uncertain, but clearly it cannot be any spelling of Ziusudra.²¹ The son of Šuruppak is mentioned nine times in the preserved parts of the Abū Šalābīkh version and twice in extant fragments of the Adab tablet.²² Surprisingly, his name is never given; he functions merely as a passive listener. If he were really thought to be the Flood hero Ziusudra, surely his name would have been mentioned at least once.

This point is corroborated by the fact that in the classical (Old Babylonian) version of this composition the son is called Ziusudra whenever the refrain is repeated.²³ This evidence further supports the conclusion that Ziusudra was not originally named in the PKL but was added to the list when it was connected to the Flood story.

The Sumerian Flood Story

The Sumerian version of the Flood story was first published in 1914 by Arno Poebel.²⁴ The text (PBS 5 1) is very fragmentary; only the bottom third of the three-column tablet is preserved. It was found at Nippur and dates from the late Old Babylonian period (ca. 1600 B.C.E.). Jacobsen has suggested that a version of the PKL was found in the unbroken text, and that a small fragment from Ur (UET 6 61) of roughly the same date represents a variant version of the same story.²⁵

king of Bad-Tibira. Last is Enmeduranki, the king of Sippar (who also appears as Enmeduranna). Thus the king of Larak and the kings of Šuruppak are omitted. It seems most likely that the list of antediluvian kings was shortened in order to form a one-to-one correspondence to the seven *apkallus*. See van Dijk, "Die Inschriften-funde," p. 18.

¹⁹ Obv. I 3; rev. VI 9; see B. Alster, *The Instructions of Šuruppak* (Copenhagen, 1974), p. 18. Šuruppak is also mentioned in obv. I 6; III 3; IV 6; VI 9; rev. V 4.

²⁰ I 3; II 8–9 (partially restored), and an unplaced fragment (Alster, *Instructions*, pp. 22–23). Alster restores the phrase in I 6 and shows that the refrain of which it is a part occurred at least three more times.

²¹ Lambert-Millard, *Atra-ḫasis*, p. 19. Steinkeller has pointed out that the term ušbar or ušbur, "father-in-law," can be spelled ú.ú.AŠ = ušbar₆. In a letter to me dated 15 October 1990, he writes:

In the Fara [period] ms., ūr.AŠ may be used either as the kinship term or, perhaps more likely, as the phonetic (or archaic) spelling for the later uš-bar "weaver." As concerns Šuruppak, it is almost certainly a gentilic /Šuruppak-ak/ "one of Šuruppak." Cf. Gilg. XI 23: ú.ú.Šu-ri-ip-pa-ku-ú (nisbe). Accordingly, in the Fara ms., the designation of the hero could be: "A man of Šuruppak, the weaver." Whatever is the

interpretation of ušbar_x (ūr.AŠ), I would bet that the O[ld] B[abylonian] (or Ur III) scribe misunderstood the archaic spelling ušbar_x as the name of Šuruppak's father; hence he emended dumu and reanalyzed ušbar_x as Ubar; but I have no idea how he got Tutu in there.

(I have altered minor details of Steinkeller's transcriptions to conform with the system used in this article.)

²² Abū Šalābīkh: obv. I 6–7; III 3; IV 6; VI 9; rev. V 4–5; VI 5; VII 9. Adab: II 9 and unplaced fragment (Alster, *Instructions*, p. 22).

²³ In Alster's reconstruction 7–10, 78–85, 148–55. The son is also occasionally called "my son" (dumu-mu), e.g., 66, 138, 165. The Middle Assyrian version calls the son ¹ut-na-p[u-uš-te] "Utanap[īš-tim]" (Alster, *Instructions*, p. 121).

²⁴ *Historical Texts*, PBS 4 (Philadelphia, 1914), pp. 9–70; copy and photographs in A. Poebel, *Historical and Grammatical Texts*, PBS 5 (Philadelphia, 1914), pls. 1 and 86–89. The line numbers of this text are cited according to the edition of M. Civil, "The Sumerian Flood Story," in Lambert-Millard, *Atra-ḫasis*, pp. 138–45, 167–72.

²⁵ Jacobsen, *SKL*, pp. 59–60, n. 113; "Eridu Genesis," pp. 513–14, 516–17 and n. 7, 519–21 and n. 9.

Most frequently the hero is called *zi-u₄-sud-rá lugal-àm*, “Ziusudra, being king” (145, 209, 254, 258; note also 211, *lugal-e*, “the king”). This description is in accordance with that in the PKL. But in lines 145–46 we read (given here with Jacobsen’s restorations) *ud-ba zi-u₄-sud-rá lugal-àm gudu₄-z[U+AB-kam] an-sag-NIGIN mu-un-dím-dím en[si (EN+ME+LI)-àm]*, “Then Ziusudra, being king (and) *gud[aps]û*-priest, fashioned (a statue of) the god of giddiness, being a *dre[am interpreter]*.”²⁶ Thus, according to Jacobsen, Ziusudra is given two priestly offices. Unfortunately, however, both titles are damaged. The reading *gudu₄* is fully preserved, but the next sign is nearly completely destroyed, so *ZU+AB* is little more than a guess. Of the word *ensi* only the first sign, *EN*, remains. But it is certain that Ziusudra was a *gudu₄ /pašišu* priest. These priests were responsible for certain bloodless offerings and were involved with oaths, judicial proceedings, and temple administration.²⁷

Jacobsen’s restorations are another issue. If they are correct, we gain valuable information about Ziusudra. The *gudapsû* appears to be a high-ranking *gudu₄/pašišu* priest. The function of the *gudapsû* is not entirely clear, but this official is especially associated with purification rites. The second title, *ensi* (Akkadian *šā’ilu*), refers to a professional diviner and dream interpreter. This priest (or quite often priestess) was especially associated with the use of *mu/aššakku* incense for libanomancy.²⁸ It is through dreams, or in a trance state, that Ziusudra is able to listen in on the divine council and receives Enki’s warning.²⁹ Such experiences might well be associated with an *ensi*, but dreams and trances were never exclusively linked to this priesthood. The most we can say at this point is that the restorations are suggestive and could be very significant if corroborated by additional evidence, but no argument can be built on them based on the data at hand.

The royal status of Ziusudra is clear in this story. He is repeatedly, perhaps even emphatically, called “king.”³⁰ The five antediluvian cities are mentioned in the same order reconstructed for the PKL, and it is likely that his royal predecessors were listed when the tablet was whole. In addition, he holds at least one other office: that of *gudu₄* priest.

²⁶ On Jacobsen’s translation “(a statue of) the god of giddiness,” see “Eridu Genesis,” pp. 521–22, n. 13, as well as S. N. Kramer, “The Sumerian Deluge Myth: Reviewed and Revised,” *Anatolian Studies* 33 (1983): 115–21, esp. 119, n. 27; P. D. Miller, “Eridu, Dunnu, and Babel: A Study in Comparative Mythology,” *Hebrew Annual Review* 9 (1985): 227–51, esp. 230–31, n. 2.

²⁷ For the *gudapsû*, see *CAD*, vol. G, p. 119; J. Renger, “Untersuchungen zum Priestertum der altbabylonischen Zeit: 2. Teil,” *ZA* 59 (1969): 132–38. For the *gudu₄/pašišu*, see idem, “Untersuchungen zum Priestertum,” pp. 143–72.

²⁸ For the *šā’il(t)u*, see A. L. Oppenheim, “The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East with a Translation of an Assyrian Dream-Book,” *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, n.s., 46/3 (1956): 221–25; Renger, “Untersuchungen zum Priestertum,” pp. 217–18. On *mu/aššakku* incense, see *CAD*, vol. M, pt. 2, p. 279.

²⁹ The problematical phrase is in line 149, *ma-mú nu-me-a è-dè*. Kramer translates it as “bringing forth all

kinds of dreams,” taking *nu-me-a* as equivalent to the indefinite pronoun *na-me* (*ANET*, 3d ed., p. 44 and n. 44; “Sumerian Deluge Myth,” p. 119). He cites Poebel’s examples of this variation (*Grundzüge der sumerischen Grammatik* [Rostock, 1923], § 264). Poebel, Civil, and Jacobsen translate the word as if it were the negation of the copula, i.e., that it was not a dream (cf. M.-L. Thomsen, *The Sumerian Language: An Introduction to Its History and Grammatical Structure* [Copenhagen, 1984], § 539). Civil argues that the spelling *nu-me* for *na-me* is “a very localized scribal peculiarity of the Larsa texts” (Lambert-Millard, *Atra-ḫasis*, p. 171). If the rendering “that it was not a dream” is correct, then Miller is surely on the mark in saying “that it is not a dream is a way of underscoring the special ecstatic experience that is not like any typical dream experience” (“Eridu, Dunnu, and Babel,” p. 231).

³⁰ Cf. Finkelstein, “Antediluvian Kings,” p. 48 and n. 32.

The Atrahasis Epic

There is no mention of kings or kingship in the Old Babylonian Atrahasis epic or in any later fragments of it.³¹ It is most unlikely that a version of the PKL was originally included in Atrahasis. The only place the PKL could have occurred is in the twenty-one-line lacuna in II 307–27. Before this the human race has just been created, and after it there is no room for the list in any of the breaks before line 364. But this break does not seem long enough either. We would expect most of the lines to begin with the name of a ruler or a city, and none of the traces on the left edge of the tablet correspond to any of the known rulers or cities of the PKL.³² Moreover, W. G. Lambert and A. R. Millard point out that the twelve-hundred-year cycles of Atrahasis do not correspond well with the much longer reigns of the antediluvian kings.³³

The first preserved mention of Atrahasis is in I 364: *ù šu-[ú 'at-ra-am-ḥa-si-is]*.³⁴ Whether the epic referred to him before this is unclear. The grammar of this line may indicate an earlier mention (“And he, Atrahasis,” seems to imply a previous reference, perhaps in the one of the lacunae in I 306–28 and 340–51), but the phrase *ù šu-ú* is unusual and is taken by Lambert and Millard, as well as by Stephanie Dalley, as an introductory formula.³⁵ In any case, in the preserved text of the epic Atrahasis is never called a king, none of his ancestors are named, and the name of his city is never given, although it is mentioned twice (I 410; II iii 20).³⁶

It is interesting that in tablet II, just after the resolution of the second plague, there is a passage that reads as follows (with the restorations of William Moran):³⁷

Every day he keeps weeping.

He brings dream offerings in the morning.

“[He speaks to me. My god is under oath and

³¹ This neglect of kingship was somewhat embarrassing to a later period. It is interesting to note the recent discovery of a Neo-Babylonian creation text closely related to Atrahasis which includes an account of the creation of a king among the first human beings (W. R. Mayer, “Ein Mythos von der Erschaffung des Menschen und des König,” *Or.*, n.s., 56 [1987]: 55–68).

³² *CT* 46, pl. 8. The preserved signs are *r[i]* in col. 6, l. 40 (l. 320 in Lambert-Millard, *Atra-ḥasis*); *an* in l. 42; a probable *ú* in l. 40. 44 (cf. the *ú* in *šú-ú* in of l. 53); a possible *i* in l. 47. I can suggest no significant restorations. It is possible that *an* represents a divine determinative (this is the interpretation of Lambert and Millard) and probable that *ú* begins a verbal form.

³³ Lambert-Millard, *Atra-ḥasis*, pp. 20–21.

³⁴ The restoration is based on the context (it is surely Atrahasis who is conversing with Enki in ll. 364–67) as well as the Assyrian version S (rev. iv 17–20 in Lambert-Millard, *Atra-ḥasis*, pp. 106–7). Compare the Babylonian versions BE 39099 and BE 36669/24a (rev. i 12 and line 9 respectively in Lambert-Millard, *Atra-ḥasis*, pp. 116–17), which use the same phrase in a passage in tablet II.

³⁵ “Now [Atrahasis],” Lambert-Millard, *Atra-ḥasis*, p. 67; S. Dalley, trans., “Now there was one Atrahasis,”

Myths from Mesopotamia: Creation, The Flood, Gilgamesh, and Others (Oxford, 1989), p. 18. Note also, the literal translation of W. von Soden, “Aber er, [Atrahasis]” in “Die erste Tafel des altbabylonischen Atrahasis Mythos. ‘Haupttext’ und Parallelversionen,” *ZA* 68 (1978): 50–94. The quotation is on p. 73. If we take *ù šu-ú* as an introductory formula, it may be best to take the same phrase in line 367 as a *casus pendens* referring back not to Enki but to Atrahasis. (This possibility was suggested to me by J. Huehnergard in a private communication). Thus ll. 364–67 could be understood, “And a certa[in Atrahasis], whose god was Enki, [his (Atrahasis’)] ea[r was open]. He spoke wi[th his god] and, as for him (Atrahasis), his god [spoke] wi[th him].” The passage is very difficult, and it is remarkable that none of the editors cited in this note comment on it. The possibility must be left open that Atrahasis was mentioned earlier in tablet I, but there is no reason to believe that he was given royal status in the putative lost introduction.

³⁶ One or two Mesopotamian geographical names are mentioned in the text: there is a reference to the Ekur (the temple of Enlil in Nippur) in I 73 and Kesh (a center of the cult of Mami) may appear in I 298.

³⁷ “Some Considerations of Form and Interpretation in Atrahasis,” in F. Rochberg-Halton, ed., *Lan-*

he gives me [reports] in dreams.
 [He speaks to me.] Enki is under oath and
 he gives me [reports] in dreams."
 . . . the temple of his god
 . . . h]e sat (and) wept.³⁸

In this passage, Atrahasis sounds similar to an *ensi/šā³ilu* priest. He offers the *muš-šakku* incense and receives communications from his god in dreams. Apparently Enki's revelation of the Flood also came in a dream, and Atrahasis had to seek the meaning of it from his god.³⁹ The mention of the temple and of Enki's oath (presumably an oath to cooperate with the bringing of the plague) is also suggestive: the *gudapsû* and *pašišu* priests were involved with temples and temple administration as well as the administration of oaths and judicial proceedings.

In sum, there is no evidence that Atrahasis was a king or that he was in any way associated with the five antediluvian cities. Some hints in the narrative are not incompatible with a priestly status for the hero, but they are not decisive.

*The Ras-Shamra Flood Story*⁴⁰

This version of the Flood narrative was written on a single tablet, of which only the beginning and end are preserved. The tablet itself dates from the Middle Babylonian period, but the spelling *û-ul* in line 10 of the obverse tends to indicate that it is a copy of an Old Babylonian original.⁴¹

The story begins with the decision of the gods to bring the Flood upon the world. There is no account of creation or list of kings. It is possible that line 4 mentioned Šuruppak, but the signs are damaged and certainty is impossible.⁴² The first part of line 5 is unreadable; then we come to connected text:

. . . the temple of Ea in its midst. "I am Atrahasis. I lived in the temple of Ea my lord. I knew everything. I knew the plan of the great gods. I knew of their oath, though they did not reveal it to me. He repeated their words to the reed-wall. 'Wall, hea[r . . .]'"⁴³

guage, Literature, and History: Philological and Historical Studies Presented to Erica Reiner (New Haven, 1987), pp. 245–55, esp. p. 251.

³⁸ II iii 4–12. See also the Neo-Babylonian version BE 39099, rev. i 12–16, as well as the Neo-Assyrian version S, rev. v 27–33, which could conceivably describe an incubation ritual.

³⁹ III i 12–14. See Lambert-Millard, *Atra-ḫasis*, p. 159 for the restoration of *šu-ut-ti* here. Gilgamesh XI 186–87 explicitly says that Atrahasis perceived the coming of the Flood in a dream sent by Ea; see below under the Gilgamesh epic.

⁴⁰ This text was published by J. Nougayrol in *Ugaritica V* (Paris, 1968, pp. 300–304 and 441 (no. 167). Another study is found in Lambert-Millard, *Atraḫasis*, pp. 131–33. W. Moran, who originally drew to my attention the importance of this text for the priestly status of Atrahasis, has been kind enough to give me a copy of his unpublished transcription

and translation of this fragment. Cf. also B. F. Batto, *Slaying the Dragon: Mythmaking in the Biblical Tradition* (Louisville, 1992), pp. 194–95, n. 23.

⁴¹ Cf. the comments in Lambert-Millard, *Atraḫasis*, p. 131.

⁴² Nougayrol reads, *šu*-(?)-[*ru*(?)]-*pá-a*[*k*(?) *ālu*(?)] *š[a]* *i-il*(?)-*mī*(?) [*nar*(?)*pu*]*r[attu*(?)]], "Šu[rup]-*pa*[*k* (?), la ville (?)]*qu'*entoure (?) [*l'Euphr*]*ate* (??)]". Lambert and Millard read, X X X X *i-še*[*m*]-*me* [(*.* .)], ". . . hears [*.* .]"; Moran reads, 'šu¹-[*ru*]-*pá-a*[*k* x- (x)]-x *i-il-me-š[u]*, "Šuruppak . . . surrounded it." The *šu pá*, and *ak* are damaged but possible. There is no trace of [*ru*], but *i* and *me* are certain. The final sign is badly damaged but could be *šu*.

⁴³ Obv. 5–14. For studies of the Akkadian text, see n. 40 above. In line 8 read *kà-la-ma i-d[e₄]* with R. Borger (no. 10 under "Notes brèves," RA 64 [1970]: 189).

The rest of the tablet is destroyed except for part of the last four lines (which deal with the giving of eternal life to Atrahasis and his wife) and the colophon.

If Šuruppak is mentioned, it is extremely likely that Atrahasis was considered its king, since Ziusudra is king of this city in the PKL and the Sumerian Flood story. But this cannot be decided without either collation or the discovery of another copy of the story. We do find indications, however, that Atrahasis is a priest in this tradition. He lives in the temple of Ea and has some sort of cosmic awareness of the actions of the gods, including their oath. He says that the gods did not reveal this knowledge to him, but this statement clearly does not pertain to Ea, who begins to reveal the coming of the Flood when the text breaks off. Whether the revelation came as a dream or another type of vision is not specified. There is no clear statement regarding his priestly status such as we find in the Sumerian Flood story, but the evidence points to his being a priest and is not incompatible with his having the status of a *gudu₄/pašišu*.

Gilgamesh XI

This version of the Flood story is found in the Standard Babylonian Epic of Gilgamesh. The full Flood account was not part of the Old Babylonian composition, although in the older epic Gilgamesh did travel to the Flood hero to learn how to obtain immortality. Rather, this Flood account is essentially a late version of tablet III of Atrahasis which has been edited into Gilgamesh with very little modification.⁴⁴ It does not count as an independent witness to the Flood legend, but it can give us supplemental information on the Atrahasis epic, as well as some insight into the transmission of the Flood traditions.

In this text the Flood hero is usually called *Utanapištim rūqu* ("Utanapištim the far off," possibly an interpretation of the Sumerian name Ziusudra). This change makes the story conform to the Old Babylonian Gilgamesh epic. The Flood hero is never called a king, and there is no mention of kingship. But there are references to his city, Šuruppak (lines 11–13, 23), and his father, Ubar-Tutu (line 23), both of which certainly tie him to the royal PKL tradition. We should note, however, that line 23 is not found in the parallel passage in Atrahasis (III i 20–23) but, rather, is a later addition influenced by the royal Flood tradition. Likewise, lines 11–13 are part of the editorial introduction to the Flood, which connects the story to the interview with Gilgamesh. It is clear that the Standard Babylonian Gilgamesh epic followed the tradition of the royal Flood hero and that it has modified Atrahasis III accordingly. There is no way of telling whether the writer of the Old Babylonian Gilgamesh epic knew the royal tradition.

Berosus and the Dynastic Chronicle

Our latest Mesopotamian evidence is found in the Greek fragments of the *Babyloniaca* of Berossus, the Chaldean priest who wrote an account of Babylonian traditions which included a version of the Enuma Eliš with astronomical material, a late recension of the SKL, traditions about the *apkallus*, a Flood account, and materials from late

⁴⁴ J. H. Tigay, *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic* (Philadelphia, 1982), pp. 10–13, 214–40.

chronicles. Considerable care must be exercised when using the material in this work for comparison, both because of its fragmentary nature and the lateness and variety of the traditions.

Closely related in time and content, and possibly even a source used by Berossus, is the Dynastic Chronicle, or Chronicle 18.⁴⁵ This poorly preserved (Akkadian and Sumerian) bilingual document opens with the founding of kingship, then lists the antediluvian kings. A Flood story follows, consisting of about sixty-one bilingual couplets, forty-one of which are completely destroyed while the rest are preserved in fragments. It continued with a long list of rulers which reaches into the first millennium B.C.E. What is left of the Dynastic Chronicle is considered here along with Berossus.

Berossus begins with a list of ten antediluvian kings from three cities (Babylon, Bad-Tibira, and Larak). It seems clear that the garbled nature of his version is due to the poor transmission of his sources and perhaps to patriotism toward his own city. The uncorrupted version from which his list descended was almost surely the PKL as reconstructed above.⁴⁶ The final member is Ziusudra. The Dynastic Chronicle has nine kings, the last of whom is Ziusudra, and five cities. The name of the first city is lost. Presumably it was Eridu, although Babylon is not impossible.⁴⁷ The other four are the ones we expect, in their usual order.

The actual Flood narrative in the *Babyloniaca* does not mention kingship, but the hero is certainly connected to the PKL. The coming Flood is revealed to him in a dream, as elsewhere. The Dynastic Chronicle is too damaged to show whether either kingship or priesthood played a significant role in the Flood narrative. In any case, neither document has a direct connection to the Sumerian Flood story, and it seems very probable that they are both late expansions of the SKL.

III. BIBLICAL TRADITIONS

The Yahwistic Primeval History

The next step in our inquiry is to determine whether the versions of the Flood found in the book of Genesis contain a royal or nonroyal Flood narrative. The Yahwistic primeval history narrates creation (Gen.2:4b–25), the fall of humanity (3:1–24), the early

⁴⁵ Two Late Assyrian and two Late Babylonian copies of this chronicle are now known. The first fragment was published by Jacobsen in *SKL*, pp. 59–60, n. 113. The later publications are Lambert, "A New Fragment from a List of Antediluvian Kings and Marduk's Chariot," in M. A. Beck et al., eds., *Symbolae Biblicae et Mesopotamicae Francisco Mario Theodoro de Liagre Böhl Dedicatae* (Leiden, 1973), pp. 271–75, 280; A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* (Locust Valley, New York, 1975), pp. 139–44 (Chronicle 18); I. L. Finkel, "Bilingual Chronicle Fragments," *JCS* 32 (1980): 65–72.

⁴⁶ Berossus reads Babylon in place of Eridu. Since there was at least one district in Babylon which was written HA.A^{KI}, this could be a misinterpretation of the logogram for Eridu. (See P. Steinkeller, "On the Reading and Location of the Toponyms URÚ.KI and

A.BA.A.KI," *JCS* 32 [1980]: 23–33). It has been suggested that HA.A^{KI} is used in WB 62 to mean Eridu (*SKL*, p. 70, n. 5; Finkelstein, "Antediluvian Kings," p. 46, n. 22; Hallo, "Antediluvian Cities," p. 63). Alternatively, Berossus may have been following the tradition in the *Enuma Eliš* that makes Babylon the first city (Burstein, *Babyloniaca*, p. 18, n. 29). His total of ten kings is reached by including the two kings of Eridu under Babylon; the three kings of Bad-Tibira, the king of Sippar, and another king otherwise unknown (Αμμένων = Enmenunna?) under Bad-Tibira; and the king of Larak and the two kings of Šuruppak under Larak. See table 1 in Finkelstein, "Antediluvian Kings," p. 45.

⁴⁷ Finkel, "Bilingual Chronicle Fragments," p. 65, n. 2.

history of the Cainite line (4:1–26), the Flood (6–8, in part), and the drunkenness of Noah (9:18–27); presents the table of nations (10:8–19, 21); and tells the story of the Tower of Babel (11:1–9). Although many Mesopotamian parallels have been adduced for the creation and fall, there is nothing specific in this material which can help us with the issue at hand. Likewise, the Table of Nations and the Tower of Babel have no direct bearing on our question.⁴⁸ We will set this material aside, then, and proceed to consider the Flood and the Cainite traditions in J.

The Yahwistic account of the Flood gives no indication that Noah was a king. The only comments about Noah personally are in 6:8, “and Noah found favor in the sight of Yahweh,” and in 7:1, where Yahweh says, “enter the ark, you and all your household, for it is you I have seen to be righteous before me in this generation.” These words bring to mind the statement about Ziusudra in the Sumerian Flood story in line 147, translated by Jacobsen “and [he] stood in awe beside it [the statue], wording (his wishes) humbly.” Likewise, Atrahasis has a special devotion and relationship to his personal god Enki (e.g., I 364–73 and the other passages discussed above under the Atrahasis epic). The possibility exists that these passages are tied to the priestly status of Ziusudra and Atrahasis, but it cannot be proved. Was Noah a priest in J? There is no mention of his receiving a revelatory dream. As often with the patriarchs, Yahweh seems to enter directly into conversation with Noah. But there is one small hint that at least associates him with priestly terminology. When he offers the sacrifice of the ritually pure animals after the Flood we are told, “Yahweh smelled the soothing odor” (8:21a). Yahweh then declares that he will never again curse the earth. The phrase רִיחַ הַנִּיחָח, “soothing odor,” is not found elsewhere in the Yahwistic narrative. It appears frequently as a technical term in P for Yahweh’s acceptance of a priestly offering.⁴⁹ The use of this term for Noah’s sacrifice may be a faint echo of the Flood hero’s priestly status in Mesopotamia.

As noted above in the introduction, the Yahwistic genealogy of the line of Cain has been compared to the list of the seven antediluvian *apkallus* in Mesopotamia. The *ap-*

⁴⁸ On the ancient Near Eastern parallels see H. N. Wallace, *The Eden Narrative* (Atlanta, 1985). John Van Seters argues that the J story of the fall is based on the traditions found in the Neo-Babylonian myth of the creation of humanity and the king (see n. 31 above) as mediated by the prophet Ezekiel in Ezekiel 28 (“The Creation of Man and the Creation of the King,” *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (ZAW) 101 [1989]: 333–42). According to Van Seters, the royal elements have been lost in the J narrative, the kingly wisdom is gained only after the fall, and the importance of the sin and its discovery has been greatly enlarged. Thus J is proved to be of exilic date. Since the elements shared by J and Ezekiel are not found in the Babylonian myth (the created man is placed in Eden, the garden of God, from which he is later expelled for his sin), Van Seters must argue that these elements are the invention of Ezekiel, an assertion for which he gives no evidence. This new Babylonian myth may indicate that, contra most exegetes, the J story of the fall is the more original version of the garden of God motif and Ezekiel introduced Neo-Babylonian royal creation motifs into the story so that it would be a more apt metaphor for the king of Tyre.

Even if Van Seters is right, J was borrowing from Ezekiel, not the Mesopotamian tradition of the antediluvian kings.

Granted, if the confusion of tongues story appeared in the Sumerian Flood story, we would have to consider the story of the Tower of Babel more closely here. But this reconstruction is highly speculative at best, and even if correct would place the confusion of tongues before the Flood, a very different matter from the Tower of Babel narrative. See Kramer, “Sumerian Deluge Myth,” p. 116, n. 2.

⁴⁹ P: Exod. 29:18, 25, 41; Lev. 1:9, 13, 17; 2:2, 9, 12; 3:5, 16; 4:31; 6:8, 14; 8:21, 28; 17:6; 23:13, 18; 26:31; Num. 15:3, 7, 10, 13, 14, 24; 18:17; 28:2, 6, 8, 13, 24, 27; 29:2, 6, 8, 13. Ezekiel uses the term three times in reference to sacrifices to other gods (6:13; 16:19; 20:28) and once in a metaphorical sense of God’s acceptance of the repentant Israelites (20:41). Cf. Skinner, *Genesis*, p. 157. For Yahweh smelling a sacrifice, see Lev. 26:31. On the relation of this passage to the parallel sacrifice in Gilgamesh where the gods smell the offering, see Heidel, *Gilgamesh Epic*, pp. 264–65.

kallus are associated with the antediluvian kings and cities and therefore, at least indirectly, with the royal version of the Flood. It is suggested that the *apkallu* tradition influenced the form of the Yahwistic genealogy and the Yahwist's placement of it before the Flood.⁵⁰ The indirect influence of the PKL has also been advanced to explain the form of the list from which the Yahwistic Cainite genealogy and the Priestly Sethite genealogy derive.⁵¹ I will consider each of these issues below.

First, it is very unlikely that the PKL influenced the list of patriarchs that was the common source of Gen. 4:17–26 and Genesis 5. Since J omits the Priestly chronological data and biographical comments and P leaves out the Yahwist's notes about the development of culture, it is probable that the original list lacked both sets of data and was simply a series of names that may or may not have been connected in a genealogy. Here it is relevant to cite Hartman's observation that the ten patriarchs in the genealogy of Genesis 5 seem more closely related to the Amorite use of ten-generation lists than to anything in the SKL (or in the terminology used here, the PKL).⁵² Our protogenealogy of biblical patriarchs looks even more similar to the Amorite parallel. What Abraham Malamat has called the "genealogical stock" shared by the Babylonian and Assyrian kings consisted of a bare list of nine to eleven names, with no mention of their life spans, achievements, or genetic relationship to one another.⁵³ The Assyrian King List (AKL) refers to its version of the list (containing seventeen names) as "kings who lived in tents." But the men listed in the Hammurapi genealogy are not called kings, and Finkelstein, in his *editio princeps* of the text, recognizes that "it is equally possible that they were conceived of as no more than tribal sheikhs or patriarchs."⁵⁴ So the Amorite parallel for the tradition behind Gen. 4:17–26 and Genesis 5 is much more suitable than any comparison with the PKL.⁵⁵

Second, the evidence connecting the Yahwistic Cainite genealogy and the *apkallus* is not very strong and, at most, indicates a general diffusion of the concept of culture heroes into the West Semitic world. The Yahwist and the *apkallu* tradition both tell of seven culture heroes who lived before the Flood and who introduced elements of civilization to human beings. A closer parallel to the Yahwistic story, one from the West Semitic arena, is found in the *Phoenician History* of Philo of Byblos (second century CE). As in J, its "technogony" follows directly after the creation account, it lists a long series of individuals who developed many aspects of civilization (e.g., city life, iron-working, and sheepherding), and the names of some of the characters are related to their inventions (e.g., Fire, Hunter, Fisher, Craftsman; cf. Tubal-cain [Gen. 4:22] and perhaps Enoch [Gen. 4:17–18]).⁵⁶ More than seven culture heroes are mentioned by Philo, but as

⁵⁰ For example, Wilson, *Genealogy*, p. 154.

⁵¹ Speiser, *Genesis*, pp. 35–36.

⁵² Hartman, "Some Thoughts," pp. 29–30.

⁵³ Malamat, "King Lists of the Old Babylonian Period and Biblical Genealogies," *JAOS* 88 (1968): 163–73. His discussion of the genealogical stock is on pp. 165–68.

⁵⁴ Finkelstein, "The Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty," *JCS* 20 (1966): 95–118, quotation on p. 97. The quotation from the AKL is from line 10. See I. J. Gelb, "Two Assyrian King Lists," *JNES* 13 (1954): 209–30, esp. 210–11, 223.

⁵⁵ D. T. Bryan has argued that the genealogies in Genesis 4 and 5 were originally independent but be-

came partially conflated due to their close association ("A Reevaluation of Gen 4 and 5 in Light of Recent Studies in Genealogical Fluidity," *ZAW* 99 [1987]: 180–88). He advances no positive evidence for his position, however, except the analogy of the cuneiform lists of *apkallus*, some of which show such partial conflation. He also fails to explain why only the names in the genealogies of Genesis 4 and 5 were subject to assimilation, while the chronological and cultural notes remained uncorrupted.

⁵⁶ H. W. Attridge and R. A. Oden, Jr., *Philo of Byblos: The Phoenician History* (Washington, D.C., 1981), pp. 40–47 (*Praeparatio Evangelica* 1.10.6–14). The term "technogony" was coined by James

Wilson acknowledges, Philo may have combined more than one local tradition, in which case the original number of the separate traditions is unknown.⁵⁷ In any case, the Yahwist hardly needed the Mesopotamian *apkallu* tradition to tell him that the number seven was useful for providing structure to a narrative.⁵⁸ The common elements shared by J and the *Phoenician History* imply that lists of culture-heroes were at home in the West Semitic world, and if the *apkallu* tradition exercised any influence on them at all it was probably no more than to suggest the very general idea of early semidivine culture heroes who invented the arts of civilization.⁵⁹

Barr ("Philo of Byblos and His 'Phoenician History'," *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 57 [1974-75]: 17-63, esp. 23-25, 50-51). The parallels between Genesis 4 and Philo's technogony have been discussed many times, most recently by Barr, pp. 50-51.

⁵⁷ Wilson, *Genealogy*, pp. 153-54.

⁵⁸ It is true that at least some of the Phoenician stories in Philo's technogony were originally about gods, not human beings. Perhaps Philo euhemerized a list of originally divine culture heroes, but it is equally, if not more likely, that a list of human culture bearers has attracted euhemerized otiose divine figures (e.g., Chousor; cf. the Ugaritic god Kothar wa-Hasis). Why, for example, would Genos, Genea, and Ousdos be represented as having founded cults if they were originally gods? Cf. Barr, "Philo of Byblos," pp. 51. In any case, if we assume the Yahwist was willing to use a story of fish men (the *apkallu*) as a structural model for his technogony, I cannot see why he would have thought a story about gods was inappropriate as a model. Thus I do not see the force of Wilson's arguments on these points (*Genealogy*, pp. 153-54). On p. 154, Wilson aptly points out that the culture founders in the *Phoenician History* are listed in a genealogical sequence but that the *apkallu* are not.

⁵⁹ Building on Jacobsen's theory concerning the influence of the Sumerian Flood story on P (see below), Miller has argued that there are also significant affinities between the Sumerian Flood story and the Yahwistic Primeval History ("Eridu, Dunnu, and Babel"). The only parallel that might suggest the Yahwist's dependence on a royal Flood tradition is the alleged presence of the tradition of the antediluvian cities in J. Miller seems to accept the identification of עירד, "Eridu," in Gen. 4:18 with Eridu. But this connection is most unlikely. The first objection is phonetic. In the lists we are given two versions of this name: עירד and ירד. I am inclined to accept Albright's proposal that the former is a corruption of the latter in Genesis 4, perhaps through a vertical dittography with the word עיר ("The Babylonian Matter in the Predeuteronomistic Primeval History [JE] in Gen 1-11," *JBL* 58 [1939]: 87-103, esp. 96-97). But neither is phonetically suitable for Eridu. Ignoring the vowels, which may be secondary, we have the consonantal clusters ערד and ירד. Neither ʿayn/gayn nor y is found in the repertoire of Sumerian phonemes (Thomsen, *Sumerian Language*,

§ 16-34. ʿAyn and gayn are not expressed in the cuneiform writing system, which system seems to have been invented by the Sumerians for their own language. Thus the phonemic status of these two sounds is unclear in Old Akkadian (Gelb, *Old Akkadian Writing and Grammar*, 2d ed. [Chicago and London, 1961], pp. 119-20). Both of these sounds had collapsed to ʔ/Ø, always for the former and word initially for the latter in Akkadian, the presumed medium of transmission, by the biblical period.

The ʔ/Ø of Akkadian names is normally ʔalep word-initially and ʔalep or Ø word-internally when these names are transliterated into biblical Hebrew (e.g., *Awēl-Marduk*: אֵוֶל מַרְדֻךְ [2 Kings 25:27]; *Nabû-zēridin*: נְבוּזַרְדִּין [2 Kings 25:8]; *Sin-ahhē-riba*: סִנְחֶרֶב [2 Kings 18:13]). Thus we would expect Eridu to be spelled ʔrd. It is true that the number, quality, and degree of graphic representation of h/h phonemes in Sumerian is unclear (Thomsen, *Sumerian Language*, §26). It is possible that the sign ʔa₃ (E₂) represented the phoneme h in Old Akkadian (Gelb, *Old Akkadian*, p. 119), and perhaps this sign also represented h. Hebrew הֵכָל (*hēkal*), "temple," "palace," derives ultimately from Sumerian e₂-gal, "big-house," "palace." This evidence may indicate that Sumerian had the h/h phoneme but that it was not clearly distinguished in the writing system. Still, none of this material gives us any evidence for ʿayn/gayn or y in Sumerian. The following phonetic spellings of Eridu in cuneiform are extant: i-ru-du-u₂-ga, e-ri-du, e-ri-du-ga. The etymology of the name is uncertain (M. W. Green, "Eridu in Sumerian Literature" [Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1975], pp. 149-50). In order to maintain the identification of Irad with Eridu we would have to assume that in oral transmission the name became assimilated to other Hebrew names such as ירד (1 Chron. 4:18) or ערד (Judg. 1:16; 1 Chron. 8:15; etc.).

Second, our confidence in this theory is not increased when we note that in the Priestly version of this list Yered and Enoch are now in the sixth and seventh places, with their positions reversed; that there is no mention of a city; and that a completely different story is told about Enoch. This implies, as mentioned above, that the legendary notes found in these two lists, including the story of the first city, were not original but are secondary accretions.

Recently, Batto has argued that the Yahwistic primeval history, including the Flood narrative, has been

The Priestly Primeval History

The primeval history of P tells the story of creation (Gen. 1:1–2:4a), the antediluvian patriarchs (5:1–32), the Flood (6–8, in part), and the postdiluvian world (9:1–17). It then gives the Table of Nations (10:1–7, 20, 22–23) and the patriarchs before Abraham (11:10–32). Again we will focus on the Flood and the antediluvian patriarchs to see whether the Priestly account is related to the Mesopotamian tradition of a royal hero, a priestly hero, or neither.

As in J, Noah is never called a king, nor is his royal status implied. There is also no indication that he was a priest. The latter is not surprising, since the P document never mentions sacrifice before the time of Moses, and its author may have been operating under the theory that sacrifice and priesthood were revealed only then.⁶⁰ Again like J, P emphasizes the righteousness of Noah. Gen. 6:9 reminds us of the piety and devotion of Ziusudra and Atrahasis to their god and their intimate relationship with him. But it seems likely that the Priestly writer had reason not to consider Noah a priest, and beyond this we cannot go.

The Priestly genealogy of Genesis 5 has a number of similarities to the PKL, and many accept that the latter served as a structural basis for the former. The list has been expanded with a chronological scheme that gives the antediluvian patriarchs very long lives. But the writer of P has an interest in chronology that extends throughout his work. It may be that this interest arose from observing Mesopotamian models, of which there are many, but this is not the same as directly imitating the PKL. Other parallels can be found for the tradition of long-lived ancients whose life spans decrease as the chronology moves closer to the present,⁶¹ and this idea permeates the whole Priestly chronological scheme, not merely Genesis 5. In addition, if P was influenced by the PKL, it is surprising that it makes no mention of antediluvian cities. The P narrative even ignores the mention of a city in the corresponding genealogy in J.

James C. VanderKam argues that the Priestly writer based his genealogy in Genesis 5 on the parallel genealogy of J in Genesis 4 but that the list in P was revised on the model of the traditions in the PKL. For reasons presented above, I find it much more likely that the two lists are derived from a common source. VanderKam's arguments for the influence of the PKL on the P source are more significant for our purposes, however. His analysis focuses on the figure of Enoch in Gen. 5:18–24; Enoch is seventh in the list, he "walked with God" (*hā'elōhîm*), he lived for 365 years, then he was taken away by God (presumably translated out of this world).

VanderKam argues that the description of Enoch has been heavily influenced by king Enmeduranki, who appears in the PKL, sometimes as the seventh member in the list. Enmeduranki was the king of Sippar (except in Berossus, who makes him king of Bad-Tibira). Other cuneiform texts declare that he was taken into the assembly of the gods and given mantic knowledge and that the *apkallu* during his reign, Utu'abzu, ascended to

heavily influenced by the Atrahasis epic (*Slaying the Dragon*, pp. 41–72). I will not take a position on his proposal here, except to note that it is compatible with my understanding of the Yahwist, since the Atrahasis epic is a nonroyal Flood tradition.

⁶⁰ J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel* (Gloucester, Massachusetts, 1973), p. 54.

⁶¹ For example, the five ages of the human race found in Hesiod, *Works and Days*, ll. 106–201.

heaven. VanderKam suggests that the unusual *hā²elōhîm* in Gen. 5:22, 24 reflects an earlier source in which Enoch entered the assembly of gods or angels. Enoch's life span is explained as an allusion to the solar year, the calendar that may be followed by the Priestly source and that is certainly closely connected to the later Enoch literature. This is significant because Sippar was the city of Shamash, the Mesopotamian sun god. Finally, the possibility is raised that Enoch's ascent may be somehow connected with Utu²abzu's.⁶²

None of these arguments is particularly compelling. Enmeduranki is not always the seventh king in the PKL. The Hebrew word for God with a definite article can refer to gods or angelic beings (e.g., Gen. 6:2; Job 1:6; 2:1) as it can without the article (e.g., Pss. 8:6; 97:7). But *hā²elōhîm* is also used unambiguously of the one God (e.g., 1 Kings 8:60; 18:39). The connection between Enoch's age and the solar calendar is far from certain. The calendar used by Jubilees, the Astronomical Book (1 Enoch 72–82), the Qumran community, and perhaps the P source, was based on a year of 364 days.⁶³ Surely if the length of Enoch's lifespan was an allusion to the solar calendar (and, by multiple extensions, to the sun, to the sun god Shamash, to Sippar, and to Enmeduranki), the Priestly writer would have made him live 364, not 365, years. VanderKam himself, with commendable caution, is skeptical of any connection between Enoch's ascent and that of Utu²abzu.

In short, the proposed connections between Enoch and Enmeduranki are few enough and uncertain enough that they may well be coincidental. Although it seems certain that the later Enoch literature (in 1 Enoch) has absorbed elements of the Enmeduranki myth into the figure of Enoch, it is much less clear that the two figures were connected as early as the writing of the Priestly document. The possibility is not entirely excluded, but more proof is needed before it can be accepted. Thus, VanderKam has not demonstrated the dependence of P on the PKL.

Finally, we turn to Jacobsen's claim that the tripartite structure of P was based on Mesopotamian models, perhaps even a late version of the Sumerian Flood story. First it should be remarked that the late analogue to the Sumerian Flood account to which Jacobsen refers does not have this structure.⁶⁴ The new fragments of the Dynastic Chronicle show that it had at most a line or two about creation, then the PKL, then a short Flood story, and last, a long list of kings after the Flood. It could not have served as a model for P. More to the point, J is an obvious structural model that is much closer in content and cultural horizon. It is clear that the Priestly writer knew of the Yahwistic material, whether his traditions are parallel to it or meant as a supplement. Both have an account of creation, a list of antediluvian patriarchs, a Flood story, a section on the postdiluvian world, and a Table of Nations, and the elements come in the same order. It is obvious that the author of P used J as a framework for his own arrangement of material, but there is little evidence that he used a royal Flood tradition.⁶⁵

⁶² J. C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (Washington, D.C., 1984), pp. 28–51.

⁶³ Presumably (but not certainly) additional days would periodically have been intercalated into the year of the sacred calendar to keep it reasonably close to the earth's actual period of revolution around the sun. VanderKam suggests that an extra month of thirty-five days may have been added every twenty-eight years

("The Origin, Character, and Early History of the 364-Day Calendar: A Reassessment of Jaubert's Hypothesis," *CBQ* 41 [1979]: 390–411; the discussion of possible intercalation is on pp. 404–6). But the fact remains that the defining number of the solar calendar was 364.

⁶⁴ Jacobsen, "Eridu Genesis," p. 528.

⁶⁵ Three Flood narratives based on the Mesopotamian Flood story are preserved in Hellenistic literature by Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 1.313–415), Lucian of

IV. CONCLUSION

In following up Finkelstein's observation that there were two early views of the Flood hero, one that he was a king and the other that he was not, I have isolated the following components of the traditions. First, there was a list of primeval kings and cities (the PKL) which existed as early as the Ur III period, and possibly as far back as the Pre-Sargonic era. Most probably it listed eight rulers of five cities. Ziusudra's name is omitted in WB 444, and the early Instructions of Šuruppak does not seem to know of Ziusudra either. These omissions are a strong indication that his name was added secondarily to the PKL only after the Flood narrative became widely enough disseminated that his absence from the list was an embarrassment. The PKL was also added to some versions of the SKL.

Second, there was a story of the great Flood. That the hero of the story was originally not one of the primeval kings is shown by the fact that no elements of the PKL are found in the Old Babylonian Atrahasis epic. This conclusion is supported by the Flood narratives of the Yahwist, the Priestly writer, and the three Hellenistic writers,⁶⁶ none of which show any clear influence of the PKL.

By the beginning of the second millennium the Flood tradition and the PKL were fused in some circles. The Sumerian Flood story, WB 62, and Gilgamesh XI are witnesses to this fusion. The Ras Shamra Flood story may also reflect the combined tradition, but the text is too damaged for certainty. The *Babylonaica* and the Dynastic Chronicle reflect late combinations of a Flood story with the SKL.

A closer look at all these narratives raises the possibility of another component in the earlier, nonroyal Flood tradition. The hero is a *gudu*₄ or *gudapsû* priest and possibly a *ša²ilu* in the Sumerian Flood story. The Ras Shamra Flood story probably makes him a priest as well. Faint echoes of the priestly character of the Flood hero may also appear in the Flood narratives of Atrahasis, the Yahwist, and Lucian. It may be that the Flood hero was originally a priest.

These conclusions are significant for our understanding of the biblical Flood stories. The structural background of the Yahwistic primeval history is independent of the Mesopotamian antediluvian kings tradition. J begins with a creation and fall story that draws freely from ancient Near Eastern myths and motifs but which is essentially an Israelite composition. A version of a West Semitic genealogical stock has been expanded into a technogony and appended after the story of creation, as in the *Phoenician History*. To this has been added an account of the Flood that was ultimately derived from a nonroyal Flood story from Mesopotamia. It is unnecessary to invoke any direct influence from the royal traditions of antediluvian *apkallus* or the PKL.

Samosata (*De Dea Syria*, §§ 12–13; see Attridge and Oden, *The Syrian Goddess: De Dea Syria* [Missoula, Montana, 1976], pp. 18–21), and Apollodorus (*The Library* 1.7. 2–3). These stories give no indication that the hero was a king, and those of Ovid and Apollodorus have no priestly connection. In Lucian's version of the Flood the hero Deucalion is also known as Sisuthes (Σισυθεα, following the emendation of Buttmann; Oden, *Studies in Lucian's "De Syria Dea"* [Missoula, Montana, 1977], p. 25). This name is clearly a variant of Ziusudra. Deucalion is saved from the Flood "because of his prudence and piety" (εὐβουλίας τε καὶ

τοῦ εὐσεβέος εἵνεκα) and is reputed to be the founder of the temple of "Aphrodite" in the Syrian city of Hieropolis. Dalley points out that the account of Apollodorus "links the flood, as does Genesis and the Sumerian king list, to early genealogies" (*Myths from Mesopotamia*, p. 7). But these early genealogies are all of Greek gods or heroes and, unlike the PKL, they come after the Flood story, not before. There are no connections in content or structure between the Mesopotamian PKL and these three late Flood narratives.

⁶⁶ See n. 65 above.

The Priestly tradent borrowed general concepts and interest from Mesopotamia. These include a nonroyal Flood story and perhaps a strong interest in chronology. It may be that the Priestly writer was aware of and imitated the long lifespans of the ancients in the SKL, but even the evidence for this is weak. No convincing case has been made for the influence of the PKL on the Priestly narrative. Structural antecedents for the Priestly primeval history are better sought in the work of the Yahwist than in Mesopotamian models.

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SINCE 1988, several articles have been published focusing on rituals performed in the ancient city of Ebla. First, Pelio Fronzaroli¹ tackled the composite text later known as the ceremony for the installation of the new royal couple. The following year, two more studies appeared in *Quaderni di Semitistica* 16: one again by Pelio Fronzaroli² and the second by one of his students, Marco Bonechi.³

In 1992, Maria Giovanna Biga⁴ published a paper dealing with the economic text TM 1730, which is a “níg-sám” tablet, a “price”-tablet registering objects, clothing, and other materials needed for the “wedding of the queen” and the installation of the new en, “king”; in other words, she provided several sections of a tablet recording disbursements for items used in the inauguration ceremonies.

Finally, Giovanni Pettinato⁵ issued his long-awaited study on the enthronement of the new royal couple at Ebla.

All these works, directly or indirectly, deal with religious ceremonies. Thus, the question arises concerning which kinds of festivals are recorded in the administrative texts, which rituals routinely took place at Ebla, and, finally, whether listed items used for a sacred purpose refer to the same ritual or describe common elements occurring in different liturgies. Furthermore, we need to examine which ceremonies the economic records are describing and thus to learn more concerning the various acts of worship performed in the ancient Syrian city, in general, and what I believe to be the very complex order of these rituals.

This paper has the very restricted goal of studying a number of those rituals registered in the administrative records.

The Purification Ritual

I will begin with a feature mentioned several times in the tablets and attested throughout the period covered by the Palace G main Archives, L. 2679.

* The following abbreviations are used throughout the present article: PN = Personal Name, DN = Divine Name, and GN = Geographical Name.

¹ P. Fronzaroli, “Il culto dei re defunti in ARET 3.178,” *Quaderni di Semitistica* (QdS) 15 (1988): 1–33.

² Idem, “Il culto degli Angubbu,” *QdS* 16 (1989): 1–26.

³ M. Bonechi, “Un atto di culto ad Ebla,” *QdS* 16 (1989): 131–47.

⁴ M. G. Biga, “Osservazioni sui criteri di redazione dei testi di Ebla: TM 75.G.1730 e i testi del Rituale per il re e la regina,” *Vicino Oriente* (VO) 8 (1992): 3–11. See also Fronzaroli’s article “Il culto dei re defunti,” and idem, in *Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires* (NABU) 1989/2, 1991/49, etc.

⁵ G. Pettinato, *Il rituale per la successione al trono ad Ebla* (Rome, 1992).

Bonechi was the first, to my knowledge, to deal with the purification ritual at Ebla, and he investigated the elements listed below as parts of the rite:

- (1) the presence of a "priest,"
- (2) the offering to the god ^dKU-ra,
- (3) its association with dug₄-ga i-sa-rí (and its variants),
- (4) the spelling of *da-mi-mu* (and its variants).

In other words, he regarded them as belonging to one elaborate ceremony, performed by the A:NAGA = a:tu₅,⁶ a purification priest, a term known also through its Semitic equivalent *à-li-um* / *à-li-ù* occurring in TM 1502 and 1399.

Examining the chart shown below that lists the texts where a:tu₅ and its cognate appear, it becomes clear that:

(1) a:tu₅ refers to a ritual and is not the word for the professional name of the priest performing it.

(2) The ritual was performed by a priest with the title pa₄:šeš ^dKU-ra, the *pašišu*-priest of ^dKU-ra who, together with ^dBarama, was the divine patron of the Eblaite royal family.

(3) The names of the priests mentioned in the texts are: Adul(u)⁷ and *En-na*-NI.

(4) In the economic texts, the ritual always concerns the "purification of the king's household" (a:tu₅ é en).⁸

(5) The garments and the wool disbursed for the ritual were registered in tablets classified by M. G. Biga and F. Pomponio as Monthly Account of Textiles (MAT).⁹

(6) The MAT's reports, registering the a:tu₅ é en, were always recorded from the same month, that is, the ritual was performed in *itu i-si*, the first month of the year at Mari and at Ebla, according to the evidence presented by D. Charpin.¹⁰

(7) In one instance, TM 3679, the garments and the wool are said to be the *níg-ba a-du-lu*, "gift of Adulu," indicating, then, that the priest Adulu presented the "gifts" entrusted to him to the deity.

(8) Even though it is a permanent element in the a:tu₅ ritual, dug₄-ga i-sa-rí could also have been performed in other ceremonies.

With regard to my suggestion that a:tu₅ and its Semitic equivalent *à-li-um* / *à-li-ù* apply to a ritual and not to the profession "purification priest," I must add the following. If

⁶ See VE (Vocabulary of Ebla) 1227 (še-) NAGA.A = *à-a-um* and M. Bonechi, "Un atto di culto ad Ebla," p. 142.

⁷ See TM 1325 obv. 3:13–4:6. The present PN is spelled *a-du-lu*, *a-du-ul*, *a-du-ur*, *a-du-ù*, and *a-du-ru*₁₂ and *EN-du-lu* (TM 1276 obv. 5:11; 1300 obv. 1:12; 1886 obv. 4:5; 3041 rev. 5:5); Bonechi, "Un atto di culto ad Ebla," p. 142.

⁸ Or, less likely: "the 'purification in the king's palace.'" See E. Sollberger, *Archivi Reali di Ebla—Testi (ARET)*, vol. 8 (Rome, 1986), p. 67, and J. Krecher, "Sumerische und nichtsumerische Schicht in der Schriftkultur von Ebla," in L. Cagni, ed., *Il bilinguismo a Ebla* (Naples, 1984), p. 141. See M. Civil, "On Some Texts Mentioning Ur-Namma," *Or.*, n.s., 54

(1985): 31, where in discussing NAGA×ŠU he says "the ritual bath is here a preparation for the coronation."

⁹ See M. G. Biga and F. Pomponio, "Elements for a Chronological Division of the Administrative Documents of Ebla," *JCS* 42 (1990): 179–201 and "Critères de rédaction comptable et chronologie relative des textes d'Ebla," *MARI* 7 (1993): 107–28 (esp. pp. 117 ff.).

¹⁰ D. Charpin, "Mari et le calendrier d'Ebla," *Revue d'assyriologie* 76 (1982): 1–6, and idem, "Le début de l'année dans le calendrier sémitique du III^e millénaire," *NABU* 1993/56. Mark E. Cohen, *The Cultic Calendar of the Ancient Near East* (Bethesda, Maryland, 1993), pp. 23–34, states that *za-à-tum* was the first month of the year in the Pre-Sargonic period.

TABLE 1

Tablet	Location	Personal Name	Title	Month Name	Ritual	Text ¹¹	Tablet Type
TM 1265	obv. 9:11	a-du-lu	—	itu i-si	a:tu ₅ é en	6	MAT
TM 1323	obv. 3:2	a-du-lu	—	itu i-si	a:tu ₅ é en	2	MAT
TM 1323	rev. 6:7	a-du-lu	—	itu i-si	a:tu ₅ é en	3	MAT
TM 1467	rev. 9:10	a-du-lu	—	itu i-si	a:tu ₅ é en	7	MAT
TM 3679	rev. 1:7	a-du-lu	—	[]	a:tu ₅ é en	40	MAT
TM 1274	rev. 3:3	en-na-ni	pa ₄ :šeš ^d ku-ra	itu i-si	a:tu ₅ é en	1	MAT
TM 1778	obv. 2:6	en-na-ni	pa ₄ :šeš ^d ku-ra	itu i-si	a:tu ₅ é en	8	MAT
TM 76.G.529	obv. 7:19	en-na-ni	pa ₄ :šeš ^d ku-ra	[]	a:tu ₅ é en	11	MAT
TM 1502	rev. 3:2	[]	[]	itu i-si	à-li-um é en	13	MAT
TM 1399 ¹²	rev. 9:1	—	—	?	à-li-ù é en	15	?

I correctly follow Bonechi's reasoning,¹³ the main evidence in support of the presence of a cleric is that: (1) "the attribute A:NAGA always refers to Adul explicitly," and (2) two garments are always mentioned, "when there is the nexus Ennani pa₄:šeš^dku-ra A:NAGA é en."

As in the quoted texts *En-na-ni* is consistently called pa₄:šeš^dku-ra, "the pašišu-priest of ^dku-ra," Adul held the same position prior to him. It is clearly stated in TM 1325 obv. 3:14–4:6:

1 SAL-túg 1 fb+3-túg:gùn // a-du-ul / pa₄:šeš / ^dku-ra / in u₄ / túg-mu / ^dtu:

1 S.-garment and 1 multicolored íb-garment, Adul, the pašišu-priest of ^dku-ra on the day of the . . . ¹⁴ of ^dTu.¹⁵

¹¹ The text number corresponds to the number used by Bonechi, "Un atto di culto ad Ebla," pp. 131–47.

¹² The present text has been partially published by C. Zaccagnini, "The Terminology of Weight Measures for Wool at Ebla," *QdS* 13 (1985): 198–201; it is not possible to tell if either the month name is recorded or if the tablet could be classified as a MAT report. The parallelism between TM 1502 rev. 2:18–3:8: 1 fb+3-gùn // [] / à-li-um / é-en / 1 túg-NI.NI 1 fb+3-túg:gùn / 5 zi-rí-síg / a-zi / 5 zi-rí-síg / da-mi-mu, and TM 1399 rev. 8:15–9:4: 5 zi-rí-síg sag / a-zi / 1 fb+3-túg:gùn 1 zi-rí-síg // à-li-ù / é-en / 5 zi-rí-síg / da-a-mu, is striking.

¹³ Bonechi, "Un atto di culto ad Ebla," pp. 141 f.

¹⁴ Túg-mu or mu-túg could indicate a kind of garment (see M. G. Biga and L. Milano, *ARET*, vol. 4 [Rome, 1984], p. 326) or the ceremony related to it. The whole section of the quoted text reads: obv. 3:4–4:6: 1 gu-súr-túg gi₆ / lú 10 na₄:síg / 3 BU.DI 4 gín-DILMUN kù:babbar / túg-mu / ^dtu / 1 túg-NI.NI / šar-du-du / pa₄:šeš / ^dku-ra / 1 SAL-túg 1 fb+3-túg:gùn // a-du-ul / pa₄:šeš / ^dku-ra / in u₄ / túg-mu / ^dtu, where, first, it mentions the garments and the objects for the túg-mu of ^dTu, then the clothes for/by the two pašišu-

priests of ^dku-ra and, finally, it reiterates the occasion of this disbursement, namely, the túg-mu of ^dTu. So, VE 1142: túg-mu = si-dib-TUM on the one hand and sa-da-bí-iš (TM 2040 rev. 4:2; MEE 7, 26 rev. 2:10 [Pettinato, *Rituale*, p. 271]), and, perhaps, maš-da-bù, on the other hand, could point to the same ceremony associated with the mentioned garment. See also sa-dib-TUM (TM 2525 rev. 7:10), sa-ti-bù (TM 3041 rev. 4:5), both said of IŠ-ru₁₂-ut, also a pa₄:šeš^dku-ra (TM 1362 rev. 5:5–8). See TM 2443 (Biga, "Frauen in der Wirtschaft von Ebla," in H. Hauptmann and H. Waetzoldt, eds., *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft in Ebla* [Heidelberg, 1988], p. 168 f.), whose totals list the amounts of wool for the túg-mu é en (rev. 10: 8:15) and for the túg-mu é i-bí-zi-kir during the month of ga-sum (rev. 11:15–18). For maš-da-bù / sa-da-bí-iš / sa-dib-TUM from *štp, see P. Mander, *Administrative Texts of the Archive L. 2769* (Rome, 1991), p. 205 and Pettinato, *Rituale*, pp. 269 ff. See also G. M. Urciuoli, "The Term túg-mu in the Administrative Texts of Ebla," *Ugarit Forschungen* 25 (1993): 407–22.

¹⁵ The old or abbreviated form ^dTu for ^dNin-tu, the goddess of birth, is also used in the Abū Šalābikh version of the Keš Temple Hymn, l. 78; see R. D. Biggs, "An Archaic Sumerian Version of the Kesh Temple

Furthermore, the allocated garments are not always two in number as has been suggested, but a single set of clothing is mentioned in TM 76.G.529 obv. 7:15–20, TM 1399 rev. 8:17–9:4, TM 1502 rev. 2:18–3:8, and TM 1325 obv. 3:13–4:6; while two garments are registered in TM 1274 rev. 3:4–10 and TM 1778 obv. 2:2–7 in connection with *En-na-ni*, and in TM 3679 rev. 1:4'–9' in connection with Adul.

The last text, perhaps, provides the solution to the puzzle, telling us that the garments were offered by the priests to ^dKU-*ra*. TM 3679 rev. 1:4'–9' reads:

2 íb+3-túg-gùn 1 KIN_x-síg / nig-ba / a-du-lu / a:tu₅ / é [en]:

2 multicolored íb-garments, 1 κ.-measure of wool, “gift” (by) Adulu (for) the “ritual bath” of the [king’s] household.

Finally, more light is shed by TM 1265 obv. 8:12–9:3:

2 íb×3-túg-gùn / a-du-lu / wa / 1 dumu-nita-sù // a:tu₅ / é / en:

2 multicolored íb-garments (to/by) Adulu and one of his sons (for) the “ritual bath” of the king’s household,

where a:tu₅ is not directly associated with our person and hardly could be considered an attribute of both Adul and his son.¹⁶

Returning to the ritual, the only further occurrence of a:tu₅ in the texts published to date is found in TM 1730 rev. 7:6–13.¹⁷

1 gín-DILMUN kù:babbar / 1 gú-li-lum / ùz-SAL / a:tu₅ / é ma-tim / NE-na-aš^{ki} / ma-lu-gi-iš / en,¹⁸

which I tentatively render:

1 shekel of silver (for) 1 bracelet, a she-goat¹⁹ (for) the “ritual bath” (in) the “great temple”²⁰ of GN for the enthronement of the king.

Hymn from Tell Abū Šalābīkh,” ZA 61 (1971): 193–207 and Krecher, “UD.GAL.NUN Versus ‘Normal’ Sumerian: Two Literatures or One?” QdS 18 (1992): 289. My sincere thanks to Robert D. Biggs for this and other valuable suggestions.

¹⁶ See Bonechi, “Un atto di culto ad Ebla,” p. 142, n. 42, who identifies Adulu’s dumu-nita with *En-na-ni*.

¹⁷ Biga, “Osservazione sui criteri di formazione,” p. 8. See also Pettinato, *Rituale*, pp. 266 f. Note that the next section mentions a son of Ebrium, Šum-BAD^{ki}, exactly as in TM 1323 obv. 2:16–4:3.

¹⁸ Biga and Pettinato do not suggest a full translation for the present text. Moreover, Biga, following Bonechi, considers a:tu₅ a priest who performs the purification ritual (“Osservazioni sui criteri di redazione,” p. 8 and n. 15).

¹⁹ TM 1823 rev. 2:1. 4, definitely reads ùz and suggests that it is also true for the related text TM

1730 rev. 7:8. The latter should have ùz-SAL and not íb.SAL, as suggested by Biga, “Osservazioni sui criteri di redazione,” pp. 6, 8 and n. 15. See Pettinato, *Rituale*, pp. 266 f.

²⁰ Besides é ma-tim or é ma-tím, the name of this temple is also written é ma-da (TM 1823 rev. 1:19) and é ma-da-am₆ (Fronzaroli, “Noms et fonctions dans les textes d’Ebla,” in NABU 1991/49). The new spelling persuaded Pettinato (*Rituale*, pp. 212, 256 ff.) to consider it as the adjective madum, “grande, eccelso” and, then, as the gloss for the Sumerian é-maš. Supporting Pettinato’s opinion further is the reading ma-wa-tim (TM 570 rev. 6:1; 2075 obv. 3:29; 4:27; 11010 obv. 3:4; 5:13; 76.G.528 rev. 3: 2–5. See Milano, *ARET*, vol. 9 [Rome, 1990], p. 58). So, the translation “mausoleo” proposed by Fronzaroli (“Il culto dei re defunti,” p. 26) is less convincing, especially since the context seems to deal with an installation ritual.

The quoted section certainly refers to the same action, whose performance brings the king and the queen before the gods ^dKU-*ra* and ^dBarama during the inaugural ceremony. See TM 1823 rev. 2:1–14:

ùz / gú-li-lum kù:babbar / gú / ùz / si-in / kur^{ki} / a-li-Nⁱ^{ki} / nu-wa-à-ra-si²¹ / mu-túm / en / ù / ma-lik-tum / si-in / é ma-tím.²²

Thus, it seems clear to me that the a:tu₅ é en was a part of an annual ceremony celebrating the enthronement of the royal couple, and it was probably performed at the beginning of each new year.

The Regular Offerings

A special position among the religious rituals was retained by the so-called “regular offerings” that could have been presented during a separate rite, routinely performed at the established time, or as a part of other ceremonies or of marking the kind and the way that the ritual was performed. A clear example is TM 1264 obv. 7:6–8:1.²³

1 aktum-túg 1 íb×5-túg-ša₆-gùn / zú-^rba¹-LUM / maškim / ib-du-ra / sá:dug₄-2 / al₆ / ùr / é / ^dKU-*ra* / lú ma-lik-tum / tu-da // dumu-nita:

1 A.-garment and 1 multicolored íb-garment, PN₁,²⁴ officer of PN₂ (as) a “regular offering” on the roof top of the temple of ^dKU-*ra*, that (is for) the queen (who) gave birth to a son.

The term for “regular offerings” was spelled in a variety of ways at Ebla, as already shown by Bonechi:²⁵ KA.DI-2, KA.GÁ-2, dug₄-ga. In my opinion, all three forms are linked not only because they share the same entries of the Vocabulary of Ebla,²⁶ but also because in the administrative texts they appear followed by the same gloss *i-sa-rí* / *i-sa-i* / *i-sá-rí*, which I would render “regular.”²⁷ I must emphasize that the compound dug₄-ga

²¹ TM 3483 3:7, reads: GÁ×GEMÉ-gi₄, Pettinato (*Rituale*, pp. 205 f.) takes nu-wa-à-ra-si as a verbal form from the Akk. *warûm*, in the first plural followed by the third singular feminine pronominal suffix -ši.

²² Pettinato, *Rituale*, pp. 116 f., renders: “(peli di) capra per un bracciale di argento, una collana (di peli di) capra verso Kur (nel territorio di) Ali-NI noi le portiamo; (quando) vanno il sovrano e la regina verso la casa eccelsa.” I would render it: “a goat, a silver ring, the ring (and) the goat to the Mountain of GN, that . . . (as) contribution of the king and the queen to the ‘great temple.’” I regard mu-túm as “contribution” because in the administrative texts similar gifts to gods are recorded on several occasions; see TM 1272 obv. 3:2–4:2; 1466 obv. 4:5–8; 2015 rev. 2:1–10. 4:14–6:5. For gú, a short form for gú-li-lum, see Pomponio, “Peculiarità della grafia dei termini semitici nei testi amministrativi eblaiti,” in Cagni, ed., *Il bilinguismo a Ebla*, p. 314.

²³ Bonechi, “Un atto di culto ad Ebla,” p. 137. Regarding VE 1199 ùr = za-ra-ba-tim, [za-r]a-ba-tum, “roof,” see TM 11010 obv. 1:15–19: 1 udu / al₆ / za-ra-ba-tum / en / nidbá, and, perhaps TM 1983 rev. 2:6’–3:2: iš₁₁-ki / zi-ba-tum / zú-ba-LUM ur₄.

²⁴ I prefer the reading zú-ba-LUM because the first sign is certainly KA and our PN is found together with íb-du-ra in TM 1767 obv. 2:1–3:2; see also TM 1983 rev. 3:1–2. Zú-ba-LUM held the position of ur₄, “collector,” indicating the officer in charge of receiving woolen items; see TM 1983 rev. 3:2; 2452 obv. 2:10; 7:12; see Biga and Pomponio, “Elements,” pp. 199 ff.

²⁵ Bonechi, “Un atto di culto ad Ebla,” pp. 135–38.

²⁶ See VE 182 KA.DI-2 / KA.GÁ-2 = ba-a-lu-um / lum, followed by VE 183 dug₄-ga with no gloss; see VE 1211 KA.DI-2 = ba-la-lum.

²⁷ Fronzaroli, “Materiali per il Lessico Eblaiti, 1,” *Studi Eblaiti* 7 (1984): 187, is correct in providing

i-sa-rí and its variants never appear followed by the name of a god, and it seems that their role is rather to specify the type of offering.

Thus, I would read KA.DI-2 = *sá:dug₄-2*, and I would consider it, together with its early variant KA.GÁ-2, the forerunner of a regular form *sá-dug₄-ga* found a few times in the late small Archive L. 2712.²⁸ The latter is glossed *zi-gi-nu* in VE 233, and, in this regard, I would question Milano's interpretation as a noun derived from the Semitic **škn*, "to provide," "provisions," "prefect, commissary."²⁹ I would suggest, instead, connecting our gloss to **kwn*, "to be firm," "to set up," "to prepare," appearing here in the Š-stem as already attested in Ugaritic.³⁰ Its causative stem, carrying the same meaning, is also used in Hebrew³¹ or in the Akkadian *kunnu*.³²

In addition to the more recent *dug₄-ga i-sa-rí / i-sa-i*, "regular offerings," the pattern *dug₄-ga nidbá DN* also appears. It seems to me that we are dealing with different kinds of offerings because the two occur in the same texts and in close proximity to each other. See TM 1323 rev. 6:1–16:

1 *zi-rí-síg / dug₄-ga / nidbá / ^dKU-ra / 1 ^{giš}KIN_x-síg / a-du-lu / a:tu₅ / é / en / 6 *zi-rí-síg / dumu-nita / a-zi / sá:dug₄-2 / i-sa-rí / 5 *zi-rí-síg / da-mu:***

1 z.-measure of wool, a d.-offering (to) ^dKU-ra: 1 K.-measure of wool, Adulu (for) the "ritual bath" of the king's household; 6 z. measures of wool, the son of Azi (as) "regular offering"; 5 z.-measures of wool (for). . . ."³³

The previous texts should be compared with obv. 2:16–4:3 of the same tablet:

1 *ibx3-túg-gùn 1 zi-rí-sig // a-du-lu / a:tu₅ / é / en / 1 à-da-um-túg-1 1 aktum-túg / šum-BAD^{ki} / dumu-nita / ib-rí-um / 1 túg-NI.NI 1 ibx3-túg:gùn 5 zi-rí-síg / dumu-nita / a-zi / sá:dug₄-2 / i-sa-rí / 5 zi-rí-síg / da-mu / 1 túg-NI.NI // 1 gú-li-lum kù-sig₁₇ / níg-ba / ^dKU-ra:*

1 multicolored *ib*-garment, 1 z.-measure of wool, Adulu (for) the "ritual bath" of the king's household; 1 and 1 garments, PN, son of Ebrium; 1 and 1 garments, 5 z.-measures of wool, the son of Azi (as) "regular offering"; 5 z.-measures of wool (for) . . . ; 1 gold bracelet "gift" (to) ^dKU-ra:

It is unclear to me why the almost identical disbursement is registered twice in the same tablet; in fact, the second time, not only are the two *ib*-garments assigned to Adulu and to the son of Azi omitted, but the entire section dealing with the a:tu₅ ritual is separated from the remainder of the reverse of the tablet by a large blank space and from the

the meaning of the gloss *i-sa-lum*, /yišarum/, "normal, recto" for the VE 1119 *si-sá*. I am not inclined to accept Bonechi's translation "(essere) favorevole" or "prosperità, salute."

²⁸ Milano, *ARET*, vol. 9, p. 402. See TM 570 rev. 6:2–3; 409 rev. 4:4:1–4: *še-ba / 7 itu / sá-dug₄-ga / i-bí-zi-kir*: "barley (during) seven months (for) the regular offerings (by) Ibbi-Zikir"; 576 rev. 2–4: *dub-gar / sá-dug₄-ga / ^een-ki*: "tablet (of) the regular offerings (to) Enki." The proposed meaning "dotazione alimentare" does not apply here.

²⁹ Milano, *ARET*, vol. 9, p. 402.

³⁰ See J.-L. Cunchillos in A. Caquot, J.-M. de Tar-

ragon, and J.-L. Cunchillos, eds., *Textes ougaritiques*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1989), pp. 317, 333.

³¹ It appears in the form *hiph'el*, in relation to sacrifices; see L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament* (Leiden, 1967–90), pp. 442–44.

³² See CAD K, pp. 162 f.; *AHW.*, pp. 438 ff.

³³ Regarding *da-mu*, also spelled *da-a-mu / da-mi-mu / da-mi / da-ma-ti*, see Bonechi, "Un atto di culto ad Ebla," pp. 140 f. and, more recently, Pettinato, *Rituale*, p. 201; the latter linked the present gloss with Hebr. *damah*, "forma, sembianza" and Akk. *damtu*, and rendered it "stele."

totals by two blank columns. The only suggestion I can come up with is that in the MAT tablets wool disbursements for deities are recorded at the end.³⁴

From the above-cited examples, it seems to me that *nidbá* has the generic meaning of “offering presented to deities” in contrast to the *dug₄-ga i-sa-rí / i-sa-i*, “regular offerings” and the *dug₄-ga nidbá DN*, that I would tentatively render “due-offering.” It becomes more evident considering TM 1778 rev. 4:1–8:

5 *zi-rí-síg / 1 šUBUR / 5 zi-rí-síg / da-mi-mu / lú nidbá / ^dKU-ra / dug₄-ga / i-sa-rí /* [remainder blank]:

5 z.-measures of wool, Šubur; 5 z.-measures of wool, . . . , that (is) an offering (to) ^dKU-ra, a “regular offering”;

to be compared with the regular formula occurring earlier in the same tablet, obv. 3:12–15:

1 *túg-NI:NI 1 íb×3-túg-gùn / 1 šUBUR / dug₄-ga / i-sa-rí*³⁵

or in TM 76.G.529 obv. 6:23–7:8:

1 *túg-NI:NI [x] íb×3-túg-gùn 5 zi-rí-síg // šUBUR / dug₄-ga / i-sa-rí / 5 zi-rí-síg / da-mi-mu / in / nidbá / ^dKU-ra*.³⁶

Another way to indicate “offering” is the pattern *níg-ba DN*, “‘gift’ to the gods.” In the *a:tu₅* ritual, the deities receiving the “gifts” of a *túg-NI:NI*-garment and a bracelet (*gú-li-lum*) or a few measures of wool are consistently ^dKU-ra or ^dUtu.

One Ritual?

The presentation of the main elements of the so-called *a:tu₅* ritual prompts the legitimate question of whether all these segments belong to one ceremony, even though they are registered in the MAT reports as separate items. The chart in table 2 below illustrates the problem and indicates the location of the single component in the tablet.

From the table, it is evident that almost all the elements occur in every instance where the present ritual is mentioned in the tablets; furthermore, for the majority of the cases, its components are located close to each other. So, I think it would not be wrong to join Bonechi in stating that they are parts of the same ceremony and that it probably took place in the temple of the Ebla patron deities.

Conclusion

In the present paper I have discussed a ritual carried out at Ebla once a year and which can be regarded as a significant event because the items used for it were regularly registered in the Monthly Account of Textiles tablet for the month of *Isi*.

³⁴ See TM 1255 rev. 11:21–12:8; 1327 rev. 8:1–9; 1349 rev. 9:13–18; 1446 rev. 8:15–17; etc.

³⁵ See also TM 1265 obv. 5:12–6:4; 1274 obv. 3:24–4:6; 1868 obv. 3:5′–8′; TM 76.G.529.

³⁶ “Garments (and) 5 z.-measures of wool, Šubur, a ‘regular offering’; 5 z.-measures of wool . . . in offering to DN.”

TABLE 2

Tablet	Personal Name	a:tu ₅ é en	dug ₄ -ga i-sa-rí/i	da-mi-mu and variants	Offering to ^d KU-ra
TM 1265	a-du-lu	obv. 8:12-9:3	obv. 5:12-6:2	obv. 6:3-4	—
TM 1323	a-du-lu	obv. 2:16-3:4	obv. 3:9-13	obv. 3:14-15	níg-ba (obv. 3:16-4:3)
TM 1323	a-du-lu	rev. 6:5-9	rev. 6:10-14	rev. 6:15-16	dug ₄ -ga nidbá (rev. 6:1-4)
TM 1467	a-du-lu	rev. 9:8-12	rev. 9:13-17	rev. 9:18-10:1	dug ₄ -ga nidbá (rev. 10:2-5)
TM 3679	a-du-lu	rev. 1:4'-9'	[]	[]	[]
TM 1274	en-na-ni	rev. 3:2-10	rev. 4:1-4	rev. 4:5-6	níg-ba (rev. 3:21-23)
TM 1778	en-na-ni	obv. 2:2-7	obv. 3:12-15	rev. 4:1-9	nidbá dug ₄ -ga i-sa-rí (rev. 4:5-8)
TM 76.G.529	en-na-ni	obv. 7:15-20	obv. 6:24-7:3	obv. 7:4-8	in nidbá (obv. 7:6-8)
TM 1502	[]	rev. 2:18-3:3	—	rev. 3:7-8	dug ₄ nidbá ^d utu (rev. 5:4-7)
TM 1399	—	rev. 8:17-9:2	?	rev. 9:3-4	dug ₄ nidbá ^d utu (rev. 10:14-17)

The ritual concerned the “purification of the king’s household” and two *pašišu*-priests, Adul(u) and Enna-NI, are mentioned in the administrative records as performing it. It seems to me, though, that its purpose was in direct connection with the divine patron(s) of the Eblaite royal family and, in particular, with the tutelary power of ^dKU-ra. Moreover, as seen above in TM 1730 rev. 7:6-13, the rite clearly was intended to mark the yearly celebration of the king’s enthronement.

The dug₄-ga *i-sa-rí* / *i-sa-i*, “regular offering,” constituted an important element of the “ritual bath,” but, as in the case of other kinds of offerings, it could have been presented to the gods during various other ceremonies as well.

BOOK REVIEWS*

The Economic Dimensions of Middle Eastern History: Essays in Honor of Charles Issawi. Edited by HALEH ESFANDIARI and A. L. UDOVITCH. Princeton: Darwin Press, 1990. Pp. 368. \$24.95.

Just before he retired from a long and distinguished career as a scholar and teacher, Charles Issawi was given a one-day conference in his honor at Princeton in 1986. This book contains most of the papers presented at that conference as well as some others which were solicited by the editors from among Issawi's many friends, colleagues, and students. It thus combines the character of a conference report and *Festschrift*. In addition, it contains the only complete bibliography I know of all his major works including the fifteen books which he either wrote or edited and exactly fifty years' worth of articles and papers from "Double Taxation of Savings" which appeared in *L'Egypte contemporaine* 30 (1939) to "In praise of Oxford," *The American Oxonian* 56 (1989).

As they aimed to reflect Issawi's primary interest as an economist and economic historian, the subjects treated in this volume are not as various as is sometimes the case. Nevertheless, they range in time from A. L. Udovitch's "International Commerce and Society in Mid-Eleventh Century Egypt and North Africa" to Mohammed Yeganeh's "The Trends and Prospects of the Middle Eastern Oil Industry" and cover themes as diverse as those in "The Political Economy of Divine Unity: A Critique of Islamic Theory and Practice" (Manucher Parvin), "Property Rights and Islamic Revolution in Iran" (Fateme Moghadem), and "The Arab World and the World Economy: An Overview" (Samir Makdisi). Some are new, others—notably those by L. Carl Brown ("A Twice-Told Tale: British and American Efforts to Organize

the Middle East"), J. C. Hurewitz ("Britain and Egypt: Background to Suez"), and John Waterbury ("The Growth of Public Sector Enterprise in the Middle East")—have appeared more or less in the same form elsewhere.

I will comment only on those few which relate directly to Issawi's own work. These can be grouped into two. The first are the three papers on the contemporary Middle Eastern oil industry by Yeganeh, Eliyahu Kanovsky ("Middle Eastern Oil Power: Mirage or Reality?"), and Ibrahim Oweiss ("Economics of Petrodollars"). All of them look at their subject in historical perspective, all treat difficult problems of judgment and evaluation, and all come to roughly similar conclusions which hold up well in spite of the disruptions caused by the recent Gulf crisis. By and large, their analysis leads them to suppose that, in spite of rising world demand, oil prices will not go through the roof again, while mutual interest will necessitate continued cooperation between producers and consumers. A bolder note is struck by Kanovsky when he addresses the question of the repeated failure of Western agencies to produce accurate forecasts of oil prices in the late 1970s and early 1980s. But his conclusion, that they all failed to take account of the enormous improvement in energy savings, is not new and also fails to take note of other important factors, such as the distorting influence of politics, prejudice, and just plain ignorance.

The papers in economic history use documentary evidence to explore a number of large Issawian themes, for example the expansion of trade and the growth of private property in the Middle East. Şevket Pamuk ("The Middle East in Nineteenth-Century World Trade") reworks figures from Issawi himself and others to demonstrate that while the value of Middle Eastern commodity exports increased over fifteen times in real terms between 1840–42 and 1910–12, the region's share in total international trade

* Permission to reprint a book review in this section may be obtained only from the author.

declined slightly during the same period. He then goes on to disaggregate his findings and to show that it was only Egypt which was able to buck this trend and to increase its share of the world market for its exports—something which he suggests can be explained in terms of differences between its political environment and those to be found in its neighbors, such as the Ottoman and Persian empires. Moghadem underlines much the same point with her detailed and convincing argument that property rights developed only slowly in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Iran and that, while they may have become clearer over time, they were still subject to a degree of ambiguity and arbitrariness both before and after the 1979 revolution.

We thank the editors for this stimulating collection of articles and wish Professor Issawi well in his retirement.

ROGER OWEN

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Cities and Caliphs: On the Genesis of Arab Muslim Urbanism. By NEZAR ALSAYYAD. New York: Greenwood Press, 1991. Pp. xi + 196. \$39.95.

The study of Islamic urbanism is virtually a subfield within Islamic studies as a whole. Nezar AlSayyad's *Cities and Caliphs* is the latest contribution to the discussion, and it possesses many of the fine qualities of its recent predecessors. Unfortunately, AlSayyad also adheres to many of their failings, and his own contributions are often problematic.

AlSayyad's intent is to reexamine early Islamic urbanism in search of an alternate understanding of the Islamic city to replace the inadequate, yet pervasive, orientalist paradigm of the inward-turned, serpentine *madīna* with a central mosque, *sūq*, citadel, town quarters, and so on. Rather than being a survey of Islamic planning practices, AlSayyad's "... central focus will be on the process by which towns were created or appropriated by Islam (p. 2)." His means to this end is "a return to the original sources (p. 1)," the Arabic chronicles.

Regrettably, the problems in AlSayyad's study are legion. Criticism in this review will be limited to some of the more immediate difficulties. After a methodological prologue (chap. 1), the book is divided into four chapters and an epilogue. Chap. 2 is an historiographical essay tracing the development of the concept of the Islamic city in modern scholarship. From Georges Marçais's Dante-esque image of a mosque-focal, functionally layered city to more recent elaborations in Middle Eastern scholarship, this chapter quite brilliantly traces the origin and development of the orientalist model of the Islamic city, what AlSayyad terms "the stereotypical model." Unhappily, most of the brilliance is actually due to the work of Janet Abu-Lughod, from which most of this chapter is derived. AlSayyad's real contribution to this chapter is a series of illustrations of the various incarnations of the stereotype and some new criticism of the stereotype as it has appeared in the work of some contemporary Middle Eastern scholars.

The core of the book examines three different types of Islamic cities, the aim being to somehow remedy the failings of the stereotypical model by looking into "... what the Muslims originally wanted of their cities and ... [relating] that to what Muslim cities turned out to be (p. 41)." Chap. 3 is devoted to the earliest Islamic experiments in urbanism, the so-called "garrison-towns" or *amṣār*. After a brief survey of the Islamic conquests and the function of the *amṣār*, AlSayyad examines two particular examples, al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa. For both, he provides an historical but primarily topographical sketch up to the reign of the caliph ʿUthmān (d. 35/656). The remainder of the chapter attempts to divine some of the symbolic meanings and processes behind the development of the *amṣār*.

Whereas chap. 3 deals with early *de novo* foundations, chap. 4 concerns itself with the transformation of existing cities after the Islamic conquests, with particular attention paid to the development of the "attitudes of the Arabs toward building (p. 78)." The primary case study is the city of Damascus. AlSayyad presents an orthodox overview of the city's history and topography to roughly the reign of ʿUmar II (d. 101/720). His coverage of the topography is largely

based on the fundamental, yet outdated, work of Jean Sauvaget, but his conclusion on the question of the fate of the pre-Islamic orthogonal street-plan accords with the (by now) widely accepted view of urban continuity and slow development from Late Antiquity to the Islamic period. He reaches roughly the same conclusions in a brief discussion of Aleppo and Cordova. As for Arab attitudes toward building, AlSayyad ties the changes in the form of these preexisting cities to a changing stance on the part of the Arabs toward building, relating this to the tensions between political and religious/moral ideology.

In chap. 5, AlSayyad once again turns to *de novo* foundations but this time in the form of caliphal capitals. His case studies are the urban complexes of ʿAbbāsid Baghdad and Fāṭimid Cairo. The survey of the foundation, building, and symbolism of Baghdad is indebted primarily to the well-known studies by Jacob Lassner. In the case of Fāṭimid Cairo, AlSayyad has examined certain aspects of the city in previous publications, and it is here at least that he can demonstrate some of his expertise, with an occasional nod to the studies of Abu-Lughod, Clerget, and Ravaisse. Unlike the other two classes of cities he discussed, AlSayyad concludes that the main factor behind these imperial foundations was the personal will of the caliphal authority. Thus, for AlSayyad, "the symbolism in the physical form of Cairo or Baghdad is not Islamic and possibly not Arabic (p. 150)." Yet, even if these cities were "planned by caliphs for themselves" (p. 150) I cannot see how something based on caliphal authority can be construed to be symbolically anything *but* Islamic. Other than this point, this is the most pleasing part of the book, for the author is particularly keen on the propagandistic elements of city founding. He concludes the book with an epilogue which summarizes his findings about the various types of cities discussed by concluding that the change in form of the "Arab Muslim city" reflected "[t]he Arabs' changing perception of the role of buildings and their recognition of the importance of architecture. . . ."

In addition to the more particular points already raised, some general areas need to be addressed regarding AlSayyad's method. First, and

contrary to his stated goal (p. 2), AlSayyad's study does, in fact, center mostly on urban form and architecture. Urban processes and symbolism, while present, receive less attention than they now deserve. Part of this problem is AlSayyad's identification of "city" as identical to the built-up area of an urban form. Ties and relationships with dependent settlements, hinterlands, commercial routes, urban hierarchies, etc., are entirely absent.

Second, while never attempting to be a comprehensive work, AlSayyad's claim to return to the original Arabic sources to reconstruct early Islamic urban history is a disappointment. The sources that he actually uses are late, varying from al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 254/868) to al-Maqrīzī (d. 846/1442), and are handled uncritically. It is difficult to understand why the author should have chosen to use such sources to examine early Islamic urbanism, with all their problems of provenance and authenticity, without even opening the detailed travelogues and topographies of the Arabic geographers, many as early as the early chronicles. Other examples do not boost our confidence in the author's proficiency with the sources, as when he presents the plan of an Ottoman garrison as "The General Arrangement of a Muslim Army Encampment" in his analysis of the first/seventh-century *amṣār* (p. 75). The author would also have benefited by examining Hichem Djait's important study of al-Kūfa, the detailed study of Damascus by Dorothee Sack, and the examination of Islamic foundation lore by C. Wendell. Archaeological perspectives are also largely ignored, despite their special relevance for al-Kūfa and Cairo.

On balance, the book is also quite derivative. Indeed, I can find little fault with most of the conclusions and interpretations presented in this book, as they are primarily those of some of the finest scholars to have studied early Islamic urbanism: Abu-Lughod's analysis of Cairo and deconstruction of the "stereotypical model," Donner's coverage of settlement in postconquest Iraq, Sauvaget's Damascus and Aleppo, Lassner's Baghdad. Thus, one loses faith when the author condemns von Grunebaum for his flagrant replication and transmission of the orientalist stereotype (itself a point made by Abu-Lughod) by

reproducing the very verbiage of Edward Said's criticisms (pp. 18–21, *passim*).

However, AlSayyad's own contributions as a modern urban planner are welcome additions that are not usually brought to traditionally "historical" studies of Islamic cities. His analytic models as reflected in his very fine illustrations, his system of "graphic notation" itself, his additions to Abu-Lughod's tracing of the orientalist stereotype, and his enjoyable coverage of Cairo are the most positive aspects of the book. Regrettably, this does not compensate for the problems described here. These problems, combined with an extremely poor job of editing, make AlSayyad's *Cities and Caliphs* a book which cannot be strongly recommended.

PAUL M. COBB

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Roots of North Indian Shi'ism in Iran and Iraq: Religion and State in Awadh, 1722–1859.

By J. R. I. COLE. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988. Pp. xix + 327. \$38.

Despite its unwieldy title (an exclamation mark would turn it into a tabloid headline), this revised dissertation is a thoroughly researched, well-written, and expertly focused study of an important phenomenon of sociopolitical history that has left loud echoes in Lucknow of today. Within the fluctuating expanse of Muslim-ruled India during the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries were several islands of Shi'ī dominion. For Middle East students unfamiliar with Imāmi Shi'ism as other than an Iranian superculture, there are few studies of sufficient breadth and depth to serve as an authoritative introduction to any of these stranded outposts; and one suspects that Indologists, too, with their subcontinental perspective of Islam and colonialism, have a limited view of these originally alien colonies. This case study of the most important such state, with its four pages of manuscript sources in four languages and sixteen pages of published references, will be of value to both.

Cole's framework is chronological, but with a modified Weberian approach informing his soci-

ology. The four parts of the book discuss the rise of a Shi'ī state in Awadh, the development of popular Shi'ism, the growth of a clerical hierarchy, and relations between the mature Shi'ī community and its Sunni and Hindu compatriots and, ultimately, its Christian overlords. The foundations of the state were laid by a Mughal retainer from Nishāpūr, who was appointed nawab of Awadh. He consolidated his wealth and territory by the resumption of *waqf* property and secured his hereditary succession with a large bribe to Nādir Shah Afshār during his invasion of India in 1739. The next few generations, coinciding in Iran and Iraq with an escalation of political turmoil and a revival of the fortunes of the rationalist Uṣūlī school of Shi'ī jurisprudence, brought an influx of Uṣūlī ulema, who gave a more rigorous form to the folksy Shi'ism of a military élite and their rankers. On the one hand, the "upper-class Shi'ī gentleman scholar" such as Tafāẓẓul Ḥusayn Khan Kashmīrī (d. 1800)—a convert to Shi'ism who had studied the Islamic sciences and philosophy at Lahore and Banaras and later learned English and Latin at Calcutta—compiled hadiths and translated European works on mathematics and physics and dabbled dangerously in court politics; on the other, popular devotion and viceregal largesse combined to produce peculiar local institutions such as the *imāmbārah*, a monumental building serving as the locale for the paraphernalia and rituals associated with the Muḥarram mourning.

More significant than material and ritual developments was the evolution of Shi'ī sociopolitical doctrine necessary to the accommodation of an Indo-Muslim state, Iranian or Iranian-trained ulema, and a heterogeneous populace that included Hindus, Sunnis, and Sufis. Such was the strength of popular Shi'ism, its rituals wholeheartedly and lavishly supported by the rulers and emulated by Sunnis and even Hindus, and so dependent were the *mujtahids*, ultimately, on royal patronage, that they were obliged to compromise their stricter principles to an extent rarely necessary in Iran. Thus they established Friday prayers, including the *khuṭba* in the name of the king of Awadh, despite the risk of usurping the prerogative of the Twelfth Imam, and, in general, accepted the authority of a temporal ruler without

undue soul-searching. This did not, however, make them less intolerant of the Hindu majority or the Sunnī community: their insistence on public cursing of the first three caliphs, for instance, provoked riots that the state—generally more tolerant than the mullahs—was obliged to put down bloodily. When it suited them, they could be remarkably pragmatic (as Cole delicately phrases it, “Imāmī Shī‘ism demonstrated an ability to adapt itself to modern capitalism”): when in the 1830s the ruling class became bankers to the East India Company, the chief *muḥtāhid* ruled it permissible to charge interest on loans to Christians, Jews, and polytheists, the latter being defined as including Sufis (which most Sunnī Muslims were) as well as Hindus, i.e., the whole non-Shī‘ī population (p. 263). Often regarded by poor Shī‘īs as lackeys of the rich (pp. 169, 284), the Uṣūlī *muḥtāhids* became rich themselves—from the management of charities, land grants, stipends, and gifts (from the Qājārs as well as the Nishāpūris), and, by dint of fake indebtedness, from actual charity monies. After the annexation of Awadh by the British in 1856, with their judiciary dismantled and their state stipends phased out, their influence declined.

“Hierocracy” is arguably too strong a term for this parasitical priestly caste, whose policies could be arbitrarily frustrated by an idiosyncratic ruler or mitigated by Akhbārī or Sunnī competitors. Cole’s principal indictment of the Uṣūlī *muḥtāhids*, however, that their intolerance and exclusivity (as contrasted with the relatively tolerant attitudes of Sunnīs and Akhbārī Shī‘īs) fostered communalism, the bane of the region, appears to be well founded.

There is much more on the colorful Nishāpūri dynasty, and on the Shī‘ī populace of Awadh (which grew by the thousands of converts from both Hinduism and Sunnism with every distribution of the *zakāt*, the poor-tax to which the state contributed a lavish 2.5 percent of its revenue). After Weber, it might be interesting to apply Dumézil to the texture of this exquisitely tripartite neo-Indo-Aryan society.

Though it is clearly outside his stated terms of reference, the author might have pointed out how much survives of Shī‘ī Awadh in modern Lucknow and Banaras (Varanasi). The colorful bamboo-and-paper cenotaphs of Ḥusayn (*ta‘ziyah*)

are still carried in procession every tenth of Muḥarram, only instead of Shī‘īs, Sunnīs, and Hindus participating together in a popular catharsis, as they sometimes did two centuries ago, the mourning is more likely to end in bloody battles between the three communities and the police. Shī‘ī gentlemen scholars still constitute a recognizable class, some of whom (Uṣūlīs?) annually make it a point to defy police curfews and lead the march from the *imāmbārah*.

There are few mechanical errors of note; *ta‘z-iyah* is missing from the glossary, and the term “Karbala,” in the sense of a symbolic cemetery where the *ta‘ziyah* is buried after the procession, does not appear in the index. In all other ways this is a carefully produced and richly rewarding volume.

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The Alchemy of Happiness. By ABŪ HĀMID MUḤAMMAD AL-GHAZZĀLĪ. Translated by CLAUD FIELD. Revised and annotated by ELTON L. DANIEL. Sources and Studies in World History. Armonk, New York and London: M. E. Sharpe, 1991. Pp. xliii + 112. \$35 (cloth), \$11.95 (paperback).

The complete Persian text of *The Alchemy of Happiness* (*Kimiyā-i sa‘ādāt*), which is usually attributed to Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī (d. 505/1111), was edited a decade ago by Ḥusayn Khadiv-i Jam (1st ed. [first half of the text only] Tehran, 1364š/1975; 2d ed. [complete] Tehran 1361š/1982; 3d ed. [rev.] Tehran, 1364š/1985; 4th ed. [reprint] 1368š/1989) in a version that not only improves upon the old lithographs of Calcutta (n.d.), Bombay (1253/1837, 1300/1883, 1321/1903), Lucknow (1279/1862, 1282/1865, 1288/1871, 1311/1894, 1333/1915), and Tehran (1315/1897, 1325/1907, 1337/1919), but also upon the editions by Aḥmad Ārām (Tehran, 1319š/1940 and 1333š/1954) and Muḥammad ‘Abbāsī (Tehran, 1361š/1982). The *Kimiyā-i sa‘ādāt* was written towards the end of al-Ghazzālī’s life, shortly before 499/1105–6 according to M. Bouyges and M. Allard (*Essai de chronologie des oeuvres de al-Ghazālī* [Beirut,

1959], p. 60) or in 505/1111 according to a note in MS *Şehid Ali* 1712/1. The work is an important Persian summary of the author's religious thought, which is comprised of four principal parts, entitled *ʿibādāt*, *muʿāmalāt*, *muhlikāt*, and *manjiyāt*, of ten chapters each. It is introduced by a striking prologue of four small sections, which Bābā Afḍal ad-dīn al-Kāsi (d. 710/1310) made the basis of a separate Persian treatise entitled *ahār ʿunwān* (see GAL I, 422). The Arabic version bearing the title *Kimiyāʾ as-saʿāda* is merely a later paraphrase of this prologue's first section ([Cairo, 1328/1910–11], ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAlim [Cairo, 1406/1986]).

The present paraphrase of the work by Claud H. A. Field (1863–1941), essentially a reprint of his paraphrase published in London in 1910, is not based on the Persian text, but on an Urdu/Hindustani translation (lithograph, Lucknow 1313/1895). It also draws on the earlier English paraphrase (H. A. Homes, *The Alchemy of Happiness* by M. al-Ghazzālī the Mohammedan Philosopher [Albany, 1873]) compiled on the basis of a Turkish translation by Muḥammad Muṣṭafā an-Nawālī (d. 1000/1591) and lithographed in Istanbul in 1260/1844. Moreover, the present volume, entitled “The Alchemy of Happiness,” represents but a small selection of excerpts from al-Ghazzālī's *Kimiyā-i saʿādat*, itself a Persian synopsis of the author's monumental Arabic work, *The Revival of the Religious Sciences* (*Ihyāʾ ʿulūm ad-dīn*).

The contribution of Elton L. Daniel to the volume is twofold. First, he compiled the preface on the life and work of al-Ghazzālī, summarizing the main data with reference to the many biographical studies from D. B. Macdonald (1899) to W. M. Watt (1963) and established a useful list of al-Ghazzālī's works and many of their full or partial translations. Second, he corrected typographical errors and spelling of names, reorganized the sequence of some chapters and paragraphs, and replaced Field's inadequate notes with somewhat helpful annotations of his own. In retouching Field's paraphrase, Daniel did not consult the excellent German translation of H. Ritter (*Al-Ghasali: Das Elixier der Glückseligkeit* [Jena, 1923], rev. eds. [Düsseldorf and Cologne, 1959 and Cologne, 1984]), which includes selections from the original Persian of

the *Kimiyā-i saʿādat* side by side with excerpts from the Arabic *Ihyāʾ ʿulūm ad-dīn*. Also, in compiling his footnotes, Daniel did not draw on the wealth of reference material included in R. Gamlich's voluminous study on Ghazzālī (Wiesbaden, 1984). Since Daniel did not rework Field's paraphrase on the basis of the Persian text itself he can, with self-critical charm, offer “no more than a revision of an English translation of an Urdu abridgment of a Persian recension of a book first written in Arabic” (p. xxxix). He buttresses the statement with a table of references to parallel Arabic and Persian text passages culled from the *Kimiyā-i saʿādat* and the *Ihyāʾ ʿulūm ad-dīn* (pp. xli-xliii).

GERHARD BÖWERING

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Einführung in die arabische Zoographie: Das tierkundliche Wissen in der arabisch-islamischen Literatur. By HERBERT EISENSTEIN. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1990. Pp. 306.

This book is the first comprehensive attempt to collect all the zoological knowledge available from Arabic literary sources. In a systematic fashion, it scans all the possible sources that were written between the sixth/seventh and the nineteenth centuries and gathers from them all the descriptive material pertaining to animals. It does not attempt, however, to compare that material to the knowledge that could be derived from the modern science of zoology.

From the Qurʾān and the ancillary legal and exegetical sciences that sprang up from it; to the prose and poetry of pre-Islamic and Islamic times, whether in anecdotes or in fables and stories; to the general encyclopedic belles lettres works known as *adab*; to lexical works; to historical, geographical, and cosmographical works; to works dealing with stones and plants; to medicine and its ancillary sciences such as pharmacology and toxicology; to philosophy and natural philosophy, including physiognomy; to the works devoted specifically to animals, such as the works of Jāḥiẓ, al-Marwazī, and al-Damirī; to works devoted to horses and horsemanship; and

finally to books dealing with hunting and folk tales. Eisenstein leaves no stone unturned and with remarkable skill pulls together the material dealing with each animal in all these sources.

From the list of contents, one is duly impressed by the wide-ranging knowledge of the author and his excellent control of the philological works that he consulted. His was not an easy achievement, for most people can master only a few of these genres of literary works, and maybe a handful can go beyond the title in the case of the others. The sheer volume of the primary sources, listed partially in a separate bibliography, pp. 232–40, attests to the acumen of the author and his careful comprehensive approach to the literature.

The book is followed by four appendixes devoted to the following subjects: classification and schemes of the animal kingdom; the place of zoology in the context of general science; the use of animals in transport, hunting, medicine, zoos, etc., and animals in folks beliefs. The bibliography, including both primary and secondary sources, covers pages 232 to 274. The indexes, pp. 275–305, are arranged by authors, titles, and animal names. The animal names are given in the German translation, followed by the original Arabic name whenever it is identified, and are thus arranged according to the German alphabet. It is unfortunate that the author did not add another index with the Arabic names of the animals arranged according to the Arabic alphabet. This would have made the book more useful to future researchers wanting to use this book with reference to a specific Arabic animal name. The last page, p. 306, is devoted to the transcription and accentuation system of Arabic.

As stated above, the general character of the book is descriptive and does not attempt to reconstruct the discipline of zoology as it was known in medieval Islamic times. Nor does the author give an overall analysis of the subject where one is led step by step to appreciate the general structure of the book. In fact, there is no such structure. The contents of the eleven chapters listed above give samples from the various literary genres that mention animals, without any attempt to rationalize why the chapter on medical works, for example, comes before that on hunting or the belles lettres before lexical

works. Moreover, the author does not pass value judgments regarding the sources, and one is, at times, left with the feeling that he treats all sources as being of equal importance.

As such, the book offers a mine of information for later researchers who may be inclined to draw up an analytical scheme by which the subject of zoology could be reconstructed and the history of that science could be written. For such an enterprise, Eisenstein has offered a great service.

GEORGE SALIBA

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Verbal Idioms of the Qurʾān. By MUSTANSIR MIR. Michigan Series on the Middle East, no. 1. Ann Arbor: Center for Near Eastern and North African Studies, University of Michigan, 1989. Pp. xxi + 378. \$21.95.

Despite its title, this work is not a study of idiom as such, but a dictionary of idiomatic usages in the Qurʾān. Four hundred and twenty Arabic verbal roots have been isolated and are presented in alphabetical order. The entries are provided in standard linguistic form, treating the verbs in relationship to prepositional usage, presence or absence of objects, and the like. A complex numbering system, referring to verbal derived forms and meaning categories, facilitates use of the work. The only element missing is an index of Qurʾānic passages referred to in the course of the text.

A verbal idiom is defined by Mir as “a verbal compound, more or less invariant in form, whose meaning cannot be derived easily from the combined meanings of the individual units of the compound.” Recognizing that such a definition is vague, Mir has kept in mind his intended audience, which is conceived to include “relatively advanced students” of the Qurʾān. Five categories of expressions have been isolated for inclusion. Clearly difficult idioms come first; for example, *yathnūna ṣudūrahū* in Q. 11:15, literally working out to say “they fold their chests,” gives an idiomatic meaning of “they turn away in indifference,” equivalent, according to Mir (p. 72), to the English “to give a shrug of the

shoulders" (which should surely be "to shrug one's shoulders"; but then that's the problem with idioms). Next are verb-preposition collocations where, for example, *dakhalū bi* in Q. 5:61 is used in its "normal" sense to mean "enter with/in the company of," but *dakhaltum bihinna* in Q. 4:23 means "have sexual intercourse with" (whether this idiom *requires* conjunction with "a woman" as Mir implies cannot be answered on the basis of the Qurʾānic vocabulary alone; this raises further questions about the definition and scope of idiom). Third is a category which takes advantage of a conceptual nicety of Arabic grammar: the idea that a preposition may carry an implied meaning (*taḍmīn*) when used with a verb with which it is not normally a complement, something which Mir considers to be a part of the concision (*ijāz*) of the Qurʾān. Suggesting just what that implied meaning may be appears to be little more than associative guesswork, but Mir highlights it frequently. *Aḥabbahu ʿanhu* (see Q. 38:32) is glossed to mean "to like/love sth to the disregard of sth else" with the *taḍmīn* of *aʿraḍa*; *aḥabba* takes a direct object, "to love so/sth," but does not normally take *ʿan*; *aʿraḍa ʿan* means "to turn away from"; *aḥabbahu ʿan* then becomes the combination of these two expressions "by implication." The fourth category comprises single words which, while technically not idioms, may carry with them an omitted but implied and understood phrase; an "obvious" case is the use of *wa ḥuqqat* ("it is so!") in Q. 84:2 and 84:5 where the rest of the phrase is to be understood, giving a full meaning "it is only appropriate that it should do so!" Why this would not be considered a specific and common Qurʾānic figure of speech—the omission of the predicate—rather than an idiom is difficult to see. Finally comes a catchall of other expressions which students may find difficult or where the idiomatic character of a phrase has been doubted (for example, "enter houses by their doors" in Q. 2:189, which may mean, according to Mir, who follows a well-established exegetical trend, "to go about something in the right way" but which is also frequently glossed literally).

There can be no doubt that Mir has provided a valuable tool for studying the Qurʾān; despite any problems which it may have, the book brings together a collection of Qurʾānic ex-

pressions often considered to be difficult and presents them systematically and in a readily accessible form.¹ A lexicographer's efforts are rarely rewarded appropriately, and it takes a good measure of selfless dedication to face such a thankless task. Considering the only other major Arabic-English dictionary of the Qurʾān is John Penrice's 1873 work *A Dictionary and Glossary of the Kor-ān*, and that Arthur Jeffery's *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qurʾān* (Baroda, 1938) is the only other major lexicographical tool available, the resource provided here is such that students of the Qurʾān will be perpetually in Mir's debt.

The question which Mir's work raises, however, once we have acknowledged its functionality for students and its value as a handy reference, is whether it has helped the field of Qurʾānic studies develop in any significant way. Furthermore, do we learn anything from it about the status of "idiom" in Qurʾānic Arabic?

Inevitably, the work suffers from the general problems of a dictionary when dealing with a specific text: the tendency to prescribe single meanings to words and phrases which have, in the history of the interpretation of the text, proven quite problematic. This is aggravated in the present circumstance by Mir's reliance on a couple of modern sources (Farāhī and Islāhī), whose opinions may be said not to represent generally accepted exegetical solutions. Generally, however, Mir admits that the meaning he is proposing goes against any accepted ones when such is the case.

More seriously, questions must be raised over the definition of idiom used in the work. The overall value of the study would have been considerably enhanced by a more serious theoretical consideration of what it means to speak of "idioms."

¹ No Arabic script is used in the book which seems odd, since any serious student would surely have mastered Arabic orthography before facing the problems raised by idiomatic speech. Some difficulties in transliteration mean that students will need some careful guidance in their use of this book: Mir has an unexplained tendency to transcribe the masculine third person possessive pronoun and pronominal suffix as *hū* rather than *hu* (and as *hī* rather than *hi* when preceded by a *kasra*)—he is inconsistent in this, however.

Without involving substantial theoretical issues in the use of language and the structure of the Arabic language itself, one may approach the question of idiom meaningfully through discussions such as those by Eugene A. Nida (see, for example, the work by Nida and Charles R. Taber, *The Theory and Practice of Translation* [Leiden, 1969]) whose very practical bent in his focus on translation is in many ways parallel to Mir's. Idiom, for Nida, is a type of figurative language, one which is characterized by the use of more than one word to form an expression. Idioms are set expressions (the relationship between the elements cannot usually change: you cannot meaningfully say "it is raining two cats and a dog") "typically constructed on quite normal grammatical patterns of phrase structure" (Nida and Taber, p. 45) whose meanings are not the sum of their parts: they are "exocentric" expressions. The difference between an idiom and other groupings of words is that an idiom must be treated as creating a single sense unit. Other writers have suggested that there is a relationship between an idiom and a "dead metaphor"; that may be a helpful insight. Idioms may be thought of as figures of speech in common use, as compared to (extended) metaphors which are coined for the occasion. Idioms are often found in dictionaries—that is, they have entered the stock of the language resources—while the senses of metaphoric expressions are not. It is this issue of how idioms relate to other aspects of language which needs further consideration in the present context; some of the observations and cautions found in Luis Alonso Schökel, *A Manual of Hebrew Poetics* (Rome, 1988), especially the section called "Images," might be helpful.

By not using an explicit and consistent conception of idiom, Mir has demoted the meaning of that idea down to an expression whose meaning is one not asserted by dictionaries to be associated with the "root meaning" of the word. Not only does this raise issues over what James Barr has called "the root fallacy," but it has also led to an increase in the scope of the book beyond all sensible proportions. For example, "according to the dictionary," *arjafa* means "to cause to shake"; regarding Q. 33:60, Mir asserts the word means "to spread false rumours."

Idiom seems to suggest, in such instances, little more than the sense that Mir gets from a word in the Qur^ʾān is not the one directly connected to the usual usage of that word or expression. In such cases, "idiom" becomes a statistical entity rather than a part of the thoughtful analysis of the poetics of the text.

A careful study of idiom construction and usage would tell us a great deal about Qur^ʾānic language both in historical and ideological terms. It will take some very careful sifting of the material which Mir has brought together in order to gain anything from it beyond its functional level. Those interested in the questions raised by the idea of idiom in light of the Qur^ʾān will not gain a great deal more from this book than they would by consulting the classic books of the past which isolate the "difficult" words of the Qur^ʾān (see my chapter "Lexicographical Texts and the Qur^ʾān" in A. Rippin, ed., *Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qur^ʾān* [Oxford, 1988], pp. 158–74). One modern attempt to explore figurative vocabulary in the Qur^ʾān is T. Sabbagh's *La métaphore dans le Coran* (Paris, 1943); while that work can hardly be called a stunning success, the classification system of the vocabulary used in the book (nature, the human body, human activity, social life) suggests one attempt to penetrate the linguistic and mythic universe of the Qur^ʾān. I can only hope that Mir's book will encourage further such attempts.

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Monuments of Syria: An Historical Guide. By ROSS BURNS. New York: New York University Press, 1992. Pp. xvii + 297 + 14 figs. + 79 maps. \$95.

This is a wonderful and most useful book for anyone who has visited Syria or who plans to. The bulk of the book consists of alphabetically arranged entries on virtually all towns and historic sites of interest in Syria, from the remote past to the modern era. In concise, clear prose, the author sketches the historical and/or archaeological significance of each place, and identifies and

describes the main features or monuments, so that the visitor will know exactly where to turn and what to see. An important feature of the book is the author's many clear line maps and plans, which make finding sites and appreciating the buildings in them much easier. Each entry begins with a brief, codelike listing of variants of the name, historical period to which the site belongs, map reference, exact location (i.e., driving instructions), and (where appropriate) visiting hours. At the end, the author offers several suggested itineraries suited to visits of varying duration, but each individual locality is also rated on a simple scale, which the traveler can use to tailor his or her own itinerary according to time and interests.

General background is provided by two initial chapters, "Syria-Historical Sketch" and "Development of Architectural Forms." For the novice to the region, he provides (in special set-off boxes) a few paragraphs of orientation on particular topics crucial to understanding particular sites, for example, "Palmyrene Art," "The Assassins," "Sufism," "Hauran." The glossary, chronology, and extensive bibliography will also prove helpful to newcomers to Syria. The author knows his subject thoroughly, and his site descriptions and historical sketches reflect this: they are informative, interesting, and judicious. The book packs a tremendous amount of useful information in relatively small compass, and should become indispensable as a travel guide to Syria. It is to be hoped that the publisher will soon make this valuable volume more widely accessible by publishing it in a less expensive paperback version.

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The Roads and Highways of Ancient Israel. By DAVID A. DORSEY. The ASOR Library of biblical and Near Eastern Archaeology. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991. Pp. xviii + 300 + 15 maps. \$39.95.

The archaeology of ancient Israel is almost unique in western Asia for the quality and quantity of data available to scholars. Too often, however, archaeological data have appeared to

be at odds with textual evidence. This has forced a variety of approaches including special pleading, deliberate ignorance, and convoluted integration. One of the problems has been trying to start out with the Big Questions, such as "the emergence of Israel," "or the cult of ancient Israel," before basic research on method and theory in this branch of historical archaeology has taken place, and before prosaic matters of organizing data are done. David Dorsey's *The Roads and Highways of Ancient Israel* is just such an effort at coordinating archaeology and texts to reconstruct something fundamental, the communication and transportation network of a small, well-documented secondary state.

Historical geographies of the Holy Land are not new, and the best of them, such as Aharoni's masterful *The Land of Israel: A Historical Geography*, make excellent use of archaeological evidence. Dorsey's effort differs in that rather than using archaeology to paint on a historical geographic canvas, his intention is a comprehensive reconstruction of an entire road and highway network in a single period. The most significant contribution of this book is the use of archaeological survey data to reconstruct Iron Age settlement patterns. Using these data to map the distribution of sites then allowed Dorsey to look at the intervening geography to chart the paths of some 245 roads. In doing so, a large number of published and unpublished survey reports were used, an effort notable in itself for the control of a literature primarily in Hebrew. Dorsey also brings to bear a wide range of other textual information, including Classical sources, Rabbinic literature, and the nineteenth-century *Survey of Western Palestine*.

Dorsey's goal is understanding the road and highway system, something which by definition would seem dynamic. As reconstructed from various sources, however, both the settlement pattern and the road system are static macro-artifacts. In this catalogue of roads there is virtually no discussion of either political history or economic geography, or any interpretive frameworks which seek to transform statics into dynamics. To an extent, however, I see this as a strong point of the book. Rather than leap ahead into interpretation and inference, Dorsey has chosen to present systematically a large body of new

data. This volume on the roads and the eagerly anticipated companion volume on settlement patterns will form an important resource for future studies from any number of viewpoints.

Rather than try to separate the known sites into the different phases on the Iron Age, Dorsey chose to collate all the available survey data for the period approximately 1200 to 586 B.C. Having myself struggled to separate sites into the various phases of the Early Bronze Age on the basis of survey data, Dorsey's approach seems very sensible. The resulting picture is rather more coarse-grained, but the goal of viewing a larger, developed system is well served. The decision to concentrate only on Israel and Judah is also sensible on practical grounds, though a complementary study of the roads of the Transjordanian kingdoms of the Iron Age would be most welcome, particularly given the large amount of recent work in those areas. Dorsey's exclusion of the Negev, however, removes from consideration both the desert frontier and a major avenue for international trade.

One shortcoming is Dorsey's heavy reliance on a limited number of secondary works, such as Forbes's *History of Technology*, in his preliminary discussions of topics such as the construction and maintenance of roads. Similarly, in his review of the types of pack animals used, he overlooks recent studies such as those in R. Meadow and H.-P. Uerpmann, eds., *Equids in the Ancient World* (Wiesbaden, 1986). Somewhat more problematic is his dependence on synthetic works of historical geography by Aharoni and Avi-Yonah. The reader will find adequate introduction to the issues but not an up-to-date summary of the evidence. Dorsey does make use of evidence from cuneiform literature in his introductory chapters to illustrate a variety of issues, such as terms and practices for bridges, fording rivers, and inns, to name but a few. One quibble here is with his practice of quoting at length Akkadian transliterations and providing translations, along with occasional philological arguments in the end notes. These seem gratuitous. Dorsey also includes a comprehensive discussion of road terminology in the Old Testament.

The dissertation on which the book is based was completed more than a decade ago, and since then the author has gone to great lengths to inte-

grate new data. Survey reports continue to appear at an increasing pace, and given that they typically present data from all periods and not only the Iron Age, it does not seem reasonable to present a list here to augment the bibliography of the book. A few other references which are either new or escaped the author's attention should be mentioned. Little attention is paid to Egyptian sources, such as those reviewed by J. Simons (*Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to Western Asia* [Leiden, 1937]), and, more recently, by S. Ahituv (*Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents* [Jerusalem, 1984]). Useful survey materials and discussions are presented by S. Dar in *Landscape and Pattern, An Archaeological Survey of Samaria, 800 B.C.E.–636 C.E.* (Oxford, 1986), and by B. Isaac and I. Roll in *Roman Roads in Judaea I: The Legio-Scythiopolis Road* (Oxford, 1982). No mention is made of the survey by N. Zori, "An Archaeological Survey of the Beth Shan Valley" (in *The Beth Shan Valley. The Seventeenth Archaeological Convention* [Jerusalem, 1962], pp. 135–98) (in Hebrew), or Z. Gal's *Ramat Issachar: Ancient Settlement in a Peripheral Region* (Tel Aviv, 1986) (in Hebrew). Unfortunately, Dorsey was unable to include the very important recent work of I. Finkelstein (*The Archaeology of the Israelite Settlement* [Jerusalem, 1988]; "The Land of Ephraim Survey 1980–1987: Preliminary Report," *Tel Aviv* 15–16 [1988–89]: 177–83), and Adam Zertal ("Israelite Settlement in Har Menashe" [Ph.D. diss., Tel Aviv University, 1986] [in Hebrew]).

The book is attractively produced and is well illustrated with fifteen regional maps showing the location of sites and paths of the roads. One drawback with these maps is that they do not show any topographic detail, no doubt a graphic compromise to permit the depiction of a large number of sites and roads. The danger in this is giving settlement patterns and roads a vaguely Euclidian feeling, which then must be compensated for by analytical techniques which account for real geography (see, for example, L. J. Gorenflo and N. Gale, "Mapping Regional Settlement in Information Space," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 9 [1990]: 240–74). The two end-piece maps showing the overall picture of roads and sites in the north and south of Israel are

particularly nice and deserve to be reunited, if only by means of photocopy.

This book is not an easy read, comprised as it is mainly of lists of sites and routes. Instead it should be thought of as another basic reference book, such as Aharoni's, Nadav Na'aman's *Borders and Districts in Biblical Historiography* (Jerusalem, 1986), and Z. Kallai's *The Historical Geography of the Bible* (Jerusalem, 1986). As such, it is an important contribution and with the appearance of the companion volume information on ancient Israel will be even more abundant and multifaceted.

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Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt, Newly Copied, Edited and Translated into Hebrew and English. Vol. 2. Contracts. By BEZALEL PORTEN and ADA YARDENI. Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, Department of the History of the Jewish People, 1989. Pp. liv+ 191 + 37 unbound facsimiles.

This second volume of the Porten/Yardeni edition of the Aramaic documents found in Egypt and dating for the most part to the fifth century B.C. continues the excellent work begun in 1986 with the publication of the letters. Two more volumes are planned, one on lists and literary and historical texts, the other on ostraca. All four are considered preliminary to a "complete *Corpus of Aramaic Texts of the Persian Period*" (p. vi).

The fifty-eight texts are presented in eight sections. Where possible, a section corresponds to the archive of a prominent personage mentioned in the documents (2 = Mibtahiah, 3 = Anani, twenty-four documents in all). Disparate documents and those where damage does not permit identification of the principal parties are grouped by content (1 = The Bauer-Meissner Land Lease [named after the original editors], 4 = Deeds of Obligation, 5 = Conveyances, 6 = Marriage Documents, 7 = Judicial Oaths, 8 = Court Records).

Most of the texts here have been edited previously, though some small fragments are seen

here for the first time. All facets of these publications are based on a thorough autopsy of the originals and on as thorough a study as is possible for philologists/epigraphers of the legal situations represented in these documents. The copies by Yardeni are beautifully done, and we have no reason to doubt that they are as thoroughly representative as they are beautiful. The translations are literal; the format of the publication does not permit commentary on individual documents, though there is a glossary (pp. xv–liv, "computer-generated in collaboration with Steve Kaufman") and rather lengthy charts and discussions on matters of topography, chronology, and prosopography (pp. 175–91). Several of these documents had already been presented in studies where a more detailed discussion was possible (a working bibliography is included with each text here).

The presentation itself is a printing *tour de force*, with the hand-copy (usually a smaller-format version of the copy provided in the wrap-around folder of facsimiles), the transliteration into square Hebrew (i.e., Aramaic) characters, a textual apparatus, Modern Hebrew and English translations with elements of an analytical outline printed in the margin (e.g., "penalty," "waiver," etc.), and a bibliography, all fitted in various ways on the page. The hand-copy and the transliteration are usually on the same page or on facing pages, permitting the user to go rapidly back and forth from one to the other.

No longer responsible for teaching these texts, I can only say that I wish such tools had been available when I was teaching them and that I envy the relative ease which today's teachers enjoy with these volumes at hand. The authors are to be warmly congratulated for producing these eminently useful volumes in anticipation of the more complete *Corpus* to which they are devoting their scholarly careers.

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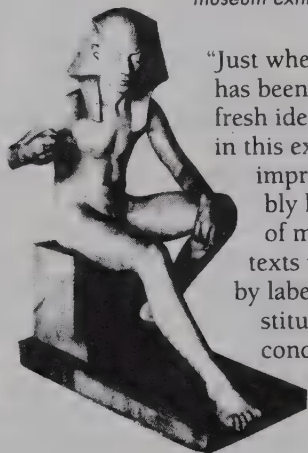
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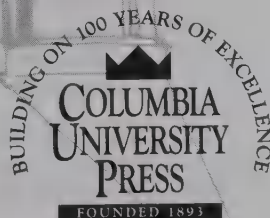
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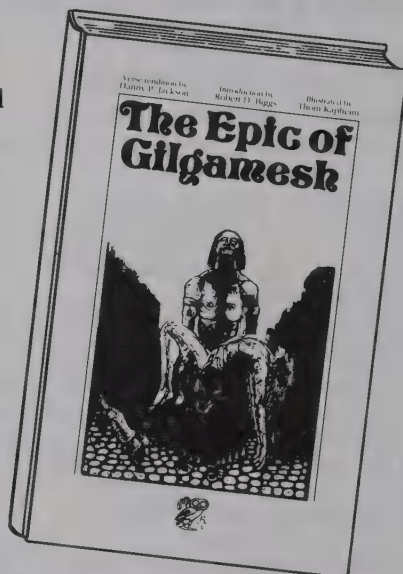
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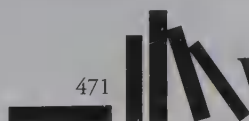
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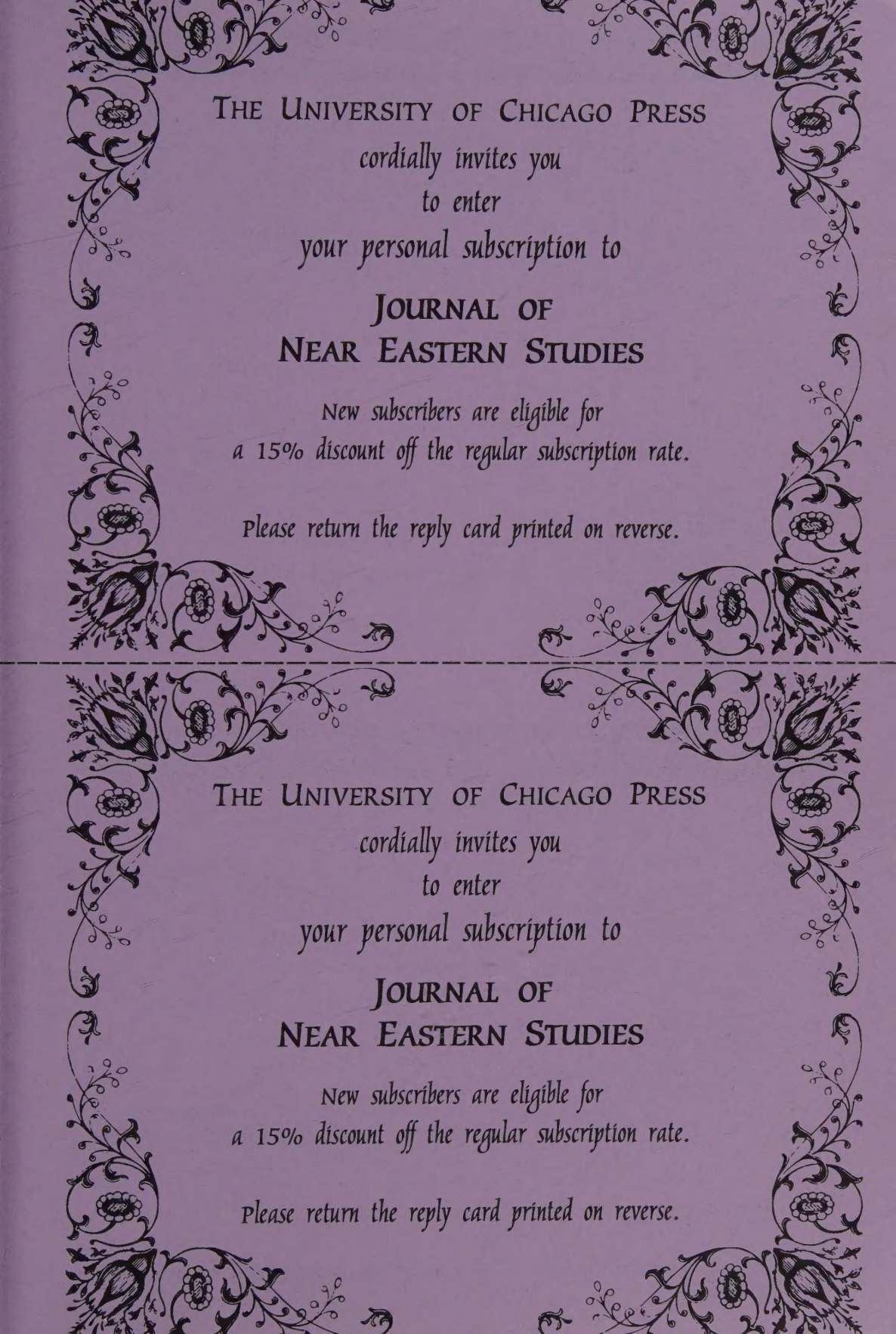
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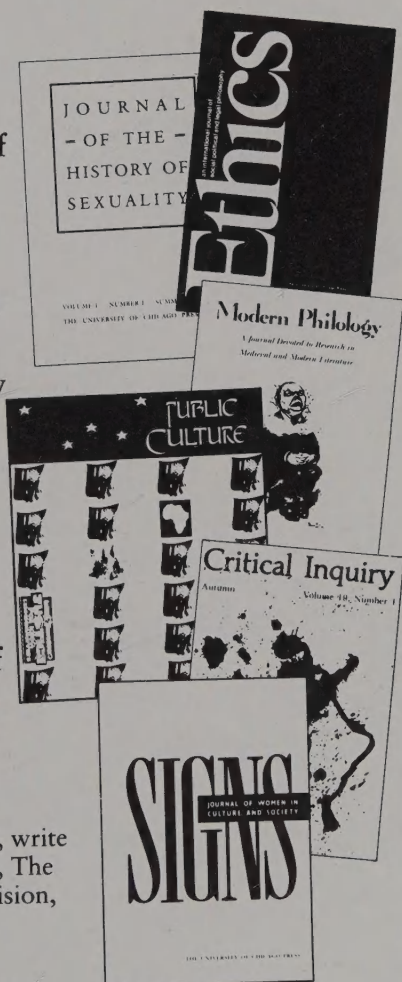
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